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Mischmeyer, Jo  
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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE PERSIAN PERIOD IN OLD TESTAMENT  
HISTORY AND RELIGION

By

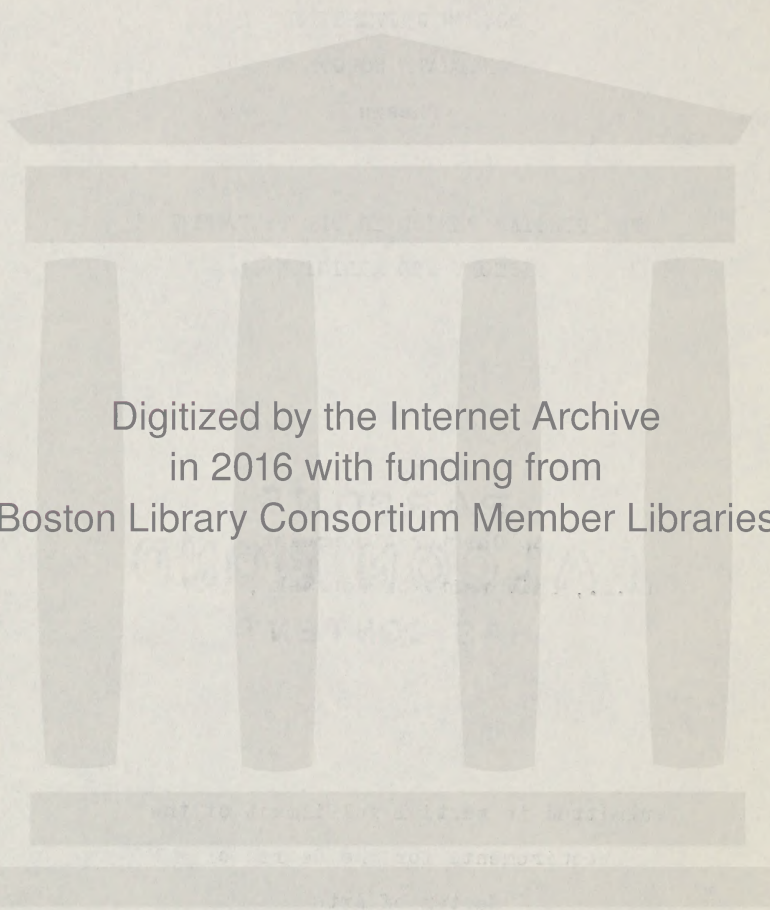
A. Chester Wischmeier

(A.B., University of Nebraska, 1937)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

1939





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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to make a study of the Persian period in Old Testament history and religion. Our aim is not to give a detailed analysis of any one phase of the period. Rather, we want to make a survey of the whole field and then point out the significant trends and developments which took place.

The scope of our study will be that of the Persian period extending from the fall of Babylon in 538 to the final defeat of Darius III by Alexander the Great in 331. In chapter two, which deals with the Persian history, we shall start with the accession of Cyrus the Great to his father's throne, as king of Anshan, in 559, in order that we might see his reign in its true perspective.

The method of study will be, first to examine the primary source material from which we derived our original information concerning the period. Our primary sources are of three types: literary, inscriptions and monuments, and Biblical. In each case we shall give a description of the primary source, try to date it as accurately as possible, and evaluate its worth for the reconstruction of this period.

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bearing on the corresponding history of Judaism. In order to get the full significance of some of these situations, it has been necessary to **sketch briefly** the intervening Persian history leading up to a particular event. From this study, we shall note what influence, if any, Persian culture and religion had on Judah.

With our work thus far as a background, we can now turn our attention to point out the main trends and developments of the period. We shall discuss them under the following topics: 1. The return of the exiles to Palestine and the earliest years after the return; 2. the decline of prophecy and the rise of legalism and priestcraft; 3. the era of reform and the development of legalism; 4. the development of exclusivism and the reaction against it; 5. the development of apocalypticism; 6. personal piety; 7. the wisdom trend.

In conclusion, a brief summary of the outstanding findings of this study has been given.

The writer has utilized the primary source materials whenever possible. Secondary sources, written by well known scholars in the field, have been used as a guide to the study of the primary sources. On critical questions, the writer has consulted both primary and secondary sources and then has tried to come to a conclusion of his own.

All the quotations from the Bible, which are used in this study and which are not otherwise credited, are from



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## CHAPTER I

### PRIMARY SOURCES

In order to make a thorough study of the Persian period in Old Testament history and religion, it is necessary to make use of as many of the primary sources of information as is possible. It is not easy to reconstruct this history because in many instances there is a lack of primary source material. For the history of the Persians, there is considerable material, as we have the histories of Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Josephus and some inscriptions. But as to the Jews, apart from the early years after the return, there is a great dearth of sources. Some light is shed by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, but the historical sequence of events is difficult to disentangle, and the records themselves are not always reliable. Some help is gained from the Elephantine papyri. During the last seventy years of this period, we are much in the dark. During the period, a considerable amount of Biblical literature was written and from this we learn something of the religious and social trends of the day.

In dealing with the primary source material, I shall discuss it under three headings: literary sources, inscriptions and monuments, and Biblical sources.

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## 1. LITERARY SOURCES

### A. Herodotus

The most important source for the history of Persia is to be found in books I-VI in Herodotus' history. Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, then dependent upon the Persians, in or about the year 484. Herodotus was thus by birth a subject of Persia.

He has been called the father of history for he was the first to compose an artistic and dramatically unified history.<sup>1</sup> There were, however, other historians before him, the so-called ~~logographers~~ logographers, or story tellers. Twice he makes reference to Hecataeus of Miletus, the most eminent of the logographers, as his authority.<sup>2</sup>

Herodotus' history is occupied to a considerable extent with what he had learned in the course of his travels, upon which he may have started when comparatively young.<sup>3</sup>

In all the countries with which the history of Herodotus was at all vitally concerned, there existed monumental records, accessible to himself or his informants, of an authentic and trustworthy character. These of course were less plentiful

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1. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XIII, p. 383.

2. Herodotus, II, 143; VI, 137.

3. See the Encyclopaedia Britannica, XIII, p. 382 for discussion of his travels.



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for the earlier times but there existed enough to serve as a considerable check upon the wanderings of mere oral tradition, and prevented it for the most part from straying very far from the truth. These documents were, in the case of foreign countries, sealed books to Herodotus for he could read no language but his own;<sup>4</sup> his informants, however, were acquainted with them, and thus a great portion of their contents found their way into his pages. Conscious of his dependence on the truthfulness of his informants, he endeavored everywhere to derive his information from those best skilled in the history of their native land, but here he was met by many difficulties. Sometimes he was coldly received, others willfully misled him, while a few made him welcome to their stories but in these stories the historical and the romantic were so blended together that it was beyond his power to disentangle them. The result was that in the portion of his history which has reference to foreign countries and to more ancient times, the most valuable truths and the merest fables lie often side by side. He was at the mercy of his informants, and was compelled to repeat their statements, even when he did not believe them. The traditions of the Scyths, of the Medes before Cyaxares, of Lydia before Gyges, and of all countries

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without a literature, must be received with the greatest caution, and regarded as having the least possible weight. But the accounts of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and the various states of Greece, having been derived in part from monuments and otherwise from those who possessed access to monuments, deserve throughout attentive consideration. They may from various causes often be incorrect in particulars, but they may be expected to be true in outline.<sup>5</sup>

In military matters he did not speak as an expert but, without any real comprehension of things, simply reproduced popular tradition. This is the reason for so many incredible figures.<sup>6</sup> Herodotus knew nothing of historical criticism, nor did he think of tracing out the ultimate forces from which historical phenomena sprang. He proposed simply to relate what he saw and heard, and to do so with a mind clear of preconceptions.

#### B. Xenophon

Xenophon was born near Athens in 434 and died in 355. He was a historian, soldier, and philosophical writer.<sup>7</sup> When he was a young man, the opportunity was presented to him through his friend Proxenos, a captain of Greek mercenaries, to

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5. Rawlinson, History of Herodotus, I, p. 157.

6. Ibid., p. 157.

7. The New International Encyclopaedia, XXIII, p. 769.

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6. Hawlinson, History of Herodotus, I, p. 127.  
 7. Ibid., p. 127.  
 8. The New International Encyclopedia, XIII, p. 768.

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The other great work of Xenophon, which has a bearing on our period, is his Cyropaedia. This is a philosophical romance embodying in the person of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire, Xenophon's favorite notions of the sound training of mind and body, the art of commanding men, and winning willing obedience.

### C. Ctesias

Ctesias was a Greek physician and historian of the fifth century B. C., a native of Cnidus. In 415, he was captured by the Persians. Because of his knowledge of medicine he was kept at the Persian court for 17 years.<sup>9</sup> In 401 he accompanied Artaxerxes Mnemon on his expedition against his brother Cyrus the Younger.

In 398, he was returned to his home, where he wrote a comprehensive work on Assyria and Persia, in 23 books, based

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8. The New International Encyclopaedia, XXIII, p. 769.

9. Ibid., VI, p. 330.



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6. *The New International Encyclopedia*, XIII, p. 789.  
 7. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 332.

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#### D. Strabo

Strabo, a Greek geographer and historian, was born at Amasia in Pontus in 63.<sup>11</sup> Strabo is important for our work because of his Geography. This is the most important book on that science that antiquity has left us. It was, as far as we know, the first attempt to collect all the geographical knowledge at the time attainable, and to compose a general treatise on geography.

Strabo indeed appears to be the first who conceived a complete geographical treatise as comprising the four divisions of mathematical, physical, political and historical geography, and he endeavored, however imperfectly, to keep all these objects in view. The incidental historical notices, which are often of great value and interest, are all his own.<sup>12</sup>

His work consists of 17 books. The first two are introductory, the next eight deal with Europe. The eleventh book treats the main divisions of Asia and the more easterly districts, the next three deal with Asia Minor. Book fifteen

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10. The New International Encyclopaedia, VI, p. 330.

11. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXV, p. 973.

12. Ibid., XXV, p. 974.

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10. The New International Encyclopedia, VI, p. 330.  
11. Encyclopædia Britannica, XIV, p. 878.  
12. Ibid., XV, p. 878.



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We do not know just where his Geography was written, but it was at least finally revised between 17 and 23 A. D., since we have historical allusions which can be dated to that time.<sup>13</sup> The sources of Strabo's knowledge were his own observations made during his journeys, and the earlier geographers, of whom the most famous were Eratosthenes, Artemidorus, and Apollodorus of Athens.<sup>14</sup>

#### E. Diodorus Siculus

Diodorus Siculus was a Greek historian, born at Agyrium, in Sicily. He flourished in the times of Caesar and Augustus.. The latest event mentioned by him belongs to the year 21.<sup>15</sup> He traveled in Asia and Europe and lived a long time in Rome, collecting the materials for his great work, the compilation of which, he says, occupied 30 years.<sup>16</sup> This work, the Historical Library, was a universal history in 40 books, from the beginnings to 60-59. The author divided his works into three parts. The first six books contained an account of the

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13. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXV, p. 975.

14. Ibid., p. 975.

15. Ibid., VIII, p. 281.

16. Ibid., p. 281.

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We do not know just when his Geography was written, but it was at least finally revised between 17 and 25 A. D., since we have historical allusions which can be dated to that time.<sup>12</sup> The sources of Strabo's knowledge were his own observations made during his journeys, and the earlier geographers, of whom the most famous were Eratosthenes, Antimachus, and Apollonius of Athens.<sup>13</sup>

#### H. Hecataeus of Abdera

Hecataeus of Abdera was a Greek historian, born at Abdera in Thrace. He flourished in the times of Alexander and Antigonos. The latest event mentioned by him belongs to the year 321.<sup>14</sup> He traveled in Asia and Europe and lived a long time in Rome, collecting the materials for his great work, the compilation of which, he says, occupied 50 years.<sup>15</sup> This work, the Historical Library, was a universal history in 40 books, from the beginning to 350 B.C. The author divided his work into three parts. The first six books contained an account of the

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12. Geographica, Strabo, lib. 17, p. 97.  
13. Geographica, Strabo, lib. 17, p. 97.  
14. Geographica, Strabo, lib. 17, p. 97.  
15. Geographica, Strabo, lib. 17, p. 97.

mythical history of all known nations down to the time of the Trojan war; the second part (books 7-17) covered the period from the Trojan war to the death of Alexander; the third (books 18-40) extended to Caesar's Gallic wars. Today, books 1 to 5, and 11 to 20 are extant. We have only scanty extracts and quotations by other writers of books 21 to 40. Fortunate for our purpose books 11 and 17 give us considerable information concerning our period.

Diodorus took Ephorus for his model and set to work on his history with excellent purpose; but the annalistic arrangement of his work in itself is wholly unfitted for so comprehensive a study. He shows none of the critical faculties of the historian, merely setting down a number of unconnected details.<sup>17</sup> His work contains frequent repetitions and contradictions. He had no experience in practical life and military training and hence lacked the insight necessary to carry out his undertaking. In spite of these defects his history is of considerable value as to some extent supplying the loss of the works of older authors, from which it was compiled.

#### F. Josephus

Josephus was a Jewish historian and military commander born in Jerusalem in the year 37 A. D.<sup>18</sup> The exact date of

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17. Encyclopaedia Britannica, VIII, p. 282.

18. The New International Encyclopaedia, XII, p. 785.



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### E. Josephus

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 born in Jerusalem in the year 37 A. D. The exact date of

17. *Geographica Historica*, VIII, p. 182.  
 18. *The New International Encyclopedia*, XII, p. 788.

his death we do not know. We do know that he survived Herod Agrippa II, who died in 100 A. D.

For our purpose, we are interested in his work called The Jewish Antiquities. In twenty books, he covered the history of the Jews from the creation of the world to the outbreak of the war with Rome. It was finished in 93 A. D.

The purpose of this work was to glorify the Jewish nation in the eyes of the Roman world. In the parts covered by the books of the Bible, Josephus followed them. Being a Pharisee, he sometimes introduced traditions of the Elders, which are either inferences from, or embroideries of, the Biblical narrative. Sometimes he supplemented his scriptural authorities, which included I Esdras, from general Greek histories. For the later period he uses the Greek Esther, with its additions, I Maccabees, Polybius, Strabo, and Nicolaus of Damascus.

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19. The New International Encyclopaedia, XII, p. 786.

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Caesarea.



## 2. INSCRIPTIONS AND MONUMENTS

### A. The sculptures and inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia

On the ancient caravan route between Babylon and Ecbatana, is located the inscription, which Darius the Great caused to be cut on the Rock of Behistun. The inscription was first copied and translated by Major General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, whose study of it enabled him to bring to a successful issue the decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.<sup>20</sup>

We owe the preservation of the great inscription of Darius entirely to the fact that it was cut on the precipitous face of the rock, which is extremely difficult of access. To place his record as far as possible beyond the reach of enemies, he cut away the natural irregularities, and smoothed the surface of the rock for a considerable space below the inscription. The only damage this inscription has suffered through the centuries has been caused by weathering and infiltration of water through the strata of the face of the

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20. King and Thompson, The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the rock of Behistun, vii.

## 2. INSCRIPTIONS AND MONUMENTS

### 4. The sculptures and inscriptions of the Great on the rock of the Great in the

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through the entrance has been caused by weathering and in-  
filtration of water through the cracks of the face of the

50. The Great and the Great, The Great and the Great, vii.  
The Great on the rock of the Great, vii.

rock.<sup>21</sup> Darius did not, however, depend upon the Behistun Inscription alone to make known his exploits to the world, for he caused copies of it to be made and dispatched to the peoples in the different provinces of his empire. The inscription above the figures of Darius and his attendants reads:

(Thus) saith Darius, the king: By the grace of Auramazda I made inscriptions in another fashion....such as was not formerly, and the great....and the great....and the.... and the....I made, and it was written and I .....Then I sent the same inscription into all lands, and the peoples....<sup>22</sup>

Needless to say, we have here inscribed on the rock of Behistun a very important source for the reconstruction of the history having to do with the reign of Darius the Great.

B. Babylonian historical texts relating to the capture and downfall of Babylon

In Sidney Smith's book, Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Downfall of Babylon, we are given translations of two important documents for our study of the Persian period. The first one is A Persian Verse Account of Nabonidus. Here we have related for us the events which led up to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. In column VI, the text deals with Cyrus's acts after he entered the city on the 3rd Marcheswan.<sup>23</sup> In

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21. King and Thompson, The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun, xlv.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

23. Smith, Sidney, Babylonian Historical Text Relating to the Downfall of Babylon, p. 29.



room. I believe this not, however, depend upon the Babylonian  
description since it was known his exploits to the world, for  
he caused copies of it to be made and distributed to the peoples  
in the different provinces of his empire. The inscription  
above the figures of Ishtar and his attendant reads:

(Trans.) With Ishtar, the King of the  
Heaven, I made a treaty in  
the year 1815, and the great  
and the great, and the great  
and the great, and the great  
and the great, and the great  
and the great, and the great  
and the great, and the great

Ishtar to say, we have been mentioned on the rock of  
Ishtar a very important source for the reconstruction of the  
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A Babylonian Historical Text Relating to the Career  
and Downfall of Nabopolassar

In Sidney Smith's book, Babylonian Historical Texts Re-  
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of two important documents for our study of the Persian period.  
The first one is A Babylonian Version Account of Nabopolassar. Here  
we have related for us the events which led up to the conquest  
of Babylon by Cyrus. In column VI, the text deals with Cyrus's  
note after he entered the city on the 12th day of the month.

25. Now and Thompson, The Babylonian and Persian  
of Babylonia the Great on the Rock of Nabopolassar, 1815.  
26. 1815, p. 187.  
27. Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts Relating  
to the Downfall of Babylon, p. 187.

column V, 28, the 11th Nisan is mentioned. The subject of the column is the New Year festival and the unpopularity of certain acts of Nabonidus during the festival. The document, as a whole, deals with an account of Nabonidus' reign 555-538.

The other document, we are interested in, is The Nabonidus Chronicle. It is believed that this document is a copy from an original and not the original itself.<sup>24</sup> "As a fragment of a chronicle, B.W.M. 36304, shows the same form as this, and Darius and probably Artaxerxes are mentioned in it. It is safe to assume that the original itself was written in or after the reign of Artaxerxes."<sup>25</sup> This document also gives us valuable information concerning the downfall of Babylon and the establishing of Persian rule by Cyrus the Great.

### C. The Elephantine Papyri

On the island of Elephantine in the Nile in Upper Egypt, excavations were carried on during 1907 and 1908 by Rubensohn and Zucker on behalf of the Berlin "Papyrusskommission."<sup>26</sup> The most important outcome of these excavations was the discovery of a large number of papyri written in Aramaic which had belonged to a Jewish military colony. The colony dates back

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24. Smith, Sidney, Babylonian Historical Text Relating to the Downfall of Babylon, p. 98.

25. Ibid., p. 99.

26. Oesterley, History of Israel, II, p. 159.





at least to the sixth century, since it was there in 525, when Cambyses conquered Egypt. Its origin seems to have been due to the employment of Jewish soldiers in Egypt, of whom there is some indication even in the Book of Deuteronomy.<sup>27</sup> There is an explicit statement in the Letter of Aristeas, 13, that Jewish troops were sent as auxiliaries to Psammeticus.<sup>28</sup> It is believed that Psammeticus II (593-588) is referred to. These Jews had a fairly elaborate temple, and worshipped Yahu (Yahweh), though they felt no difficulty in making him share his offerings with other gods (Asham-bethel) and goddesses (Anath-bethel).<sup>29</sup> In 410, their temple, which Cambyses had spared more than a century before, was destroyed by Egyptian rebels against the Persian rule.<sup>30</sup> This took place during the time when the Persian Satrap of Egypt, Arsames, had left the land, temporarily, to make report to Darius II. The Jews of Elephantine asked for permission to rebuild their temple and wrote to the governor of Judah, Bagohi, and the high priest of Jerusalem, Jehochanan, to solicit their influence.<sup>31</sup> To their first appeal in 410, no answer had been sent, so they wrote again in 407 to the governor of Judah and the sons of the

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27. Deuteronomy 17:16.

28. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 159.

29. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, p. 72.

30. Robinson, H. W., The History of Israel, p. 161.

31. Ibid., p. 162.

at least to the sixth century, since it was there in 525, when Cambyses conquered Egypt. Its origin seems to have been due to the employment of Jewish soldiers in Egypt, at whom there is some indication even in the Book of Nehemiah.<sup>27</sup> There is an explicit statement in the Letter of Aristeus, 13, that Jewish troops were sent as auxiliaries to Ptolemy. It is believed that Ptolemy II (283-246) is referred to. These Jews had a fairly elaborate temple, and worshipped Yahweh (Yahweh), though they felt no difficulty in making his name its synonym with other gods (Athen-Artemis and Poseidon-Artemis).<sup>28</sup> In 410, their temple, which Cambyses had burned more than a century before, was destroyed by Egyptian rebels against the Persian rule.<sup>29</sup> This took place during the time when the Persian Empire of Egypt, Armenia, had left the land, respectively, to make report to Darius II. The Jews of Egypt had asked for permission to rebuild their temple and wrote to the governor of Judah, Iddon, and the high priest of Jerusalem, Jaddanah, to solicit their assistance.<sup>30</sup> To their first request in 410, no answer had been sent, so they wrote again in 407 to the governor of Judah and the sons of the

27. Nehemiah, IV:15.  
28. Diodorus, op. cit., p. 125.  
29. Eusebius, Chronicon, p. 12.  
30. Eusebius, Chronicon, p. 121.  
31. Ibid., p. 122.

governor of Samaria, and received a favorable reply. A papyrus written in 419 tells us of the Persian orders to the Persian governor of the Elephantine settlement of the celebration of the Passover.<sup>32</sup> This throws an interesting light on the Persian interest in, and approval of, the work of Nehemiah and Ezra.

There were sixty-two papyri discovered.<sup>33</sup> They all belong to the fifth century, their dates falling between 494 and 400. They were all written by Jews, some of whose names are familiar to us from the Old Testament, e.g., Hosea, Azariah, Zephaniah, Jonathan, Coniah, Zechariah, Nathan, Isaiah, and many others. The contents of the papyri show them to have been for the most part business documents, contracts for loans, conveying of property, and so forth.<sup>34</sup>

The Papyri have considerable historical value, especially as they are dated. Bagohi, the governor of Judah, is the Bagoses of whom Josephus writes<sup>35</sup> that he intervened in the affairs of the Jerusalem Temple, when his protege, Jesus, was killed by his own brother, John (Jehochanan) the high priests, c. 400. The name of the high priest, Jehochanan helps us to date Ezra's work, as does the reference to the

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32. Cowley, op. cit., p. 63.

33. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 163.

34. Colwey, op. cit., 22

35. Antiquities, XI, p. 7.



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32. Goshai, op. cit., p. 65.  
 33. Goshai, op. cit., p. 133.  
 34. Goshai, op. cit., p. 65.  
 35. Antiquities, 11, p. 7.

sons of Sanballat, Delaiah and Shemaiah, who appear to have been his deputies or successors.<sup>36</sup> Of particular interest, is the association of Yahweh with other deities, including the goddess Anath. Such information as this suggests that we have here an echo of Israelite religion in Palestine, prior to the reformation of Josiah, of which these Jews show no knowledge.

### 3. BIBLICAL SOURCES

#### A. Isaiah 63:7-64:12; 63:1-6. (538-520)

There has been much discussion on both the date and the authorship of this section. It is a prayer on behalf of the people, in depression and distress, for a renewal of the Divine mercies that had once been shown to them and for the deliverance of Zion from its desolate condition which the national offences have merited. Cheyne has called it "a liturgical thanksgiving, confession of sin, and supplication."<sup>37</sup>

We learn from the historical allusions in this passage that Jerusalem and the neighboring district are devastated.<sup>38</sup> The Temple, described "as our holy and beautiful house where our fathers praised thee," had been burnt.<sup>39</sup> The author of this passage was saturated with a sense of national guilt.<sup>40</sup>

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36. Robinson, H. W., op. cit., p. 161.

37. Cheyne, Introduction to the Book of Isaiah, p. 349.

38. Isaiah 64:10.

39. Ibid., 63:18, 64:11.

40. Ibid., 63:17, 64:6-7.

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56. Robinson, H. W., op. cit., p. 161.
57. Ungewitter, Introduction to the Book of Isaiah, p. 549.
58. Isaiah 63:10.
59. Isaiah 63:10, 64:11.
60. Isaiah 63:17, 64:6-7.



These allusions appear most intelligible on the assumption that the author wrote shortly after the return to Palestine, that the devastation lamented had been wrought by Nebuchadnezzar in 586, that the ruined Temple referred to is the Temple of Solomon, and that a sense of the national sin was revived by the sight of its desolation. If the view here taken of the situation implied in the passage is correct, the date of composition will be some year between the return from Babylon in 538 and reconstruction of the Temple in 520 and the author another than and prior to Trito-Isaiah. George Adam Smith believes that Deutero-Isaiah is the author.<sup>41</sup>

A serious objection is presented to this theory by the declaration that the people had possessed the desecrated sanctuary "but a little while,"<sup>42</sup> which is an unnatural description of the 350 years that elapsed between the building of the first Temple in the reign of Solomon and its destruction in 587. G. A. Wade believes that possibly the text of 63:18 may be in error.<sup>43</sup>

Gressmann, Budde, Littmann, Smith and Whitehouse favor a date for the authorship of this passage between 538 and 520.<sup>44</sup> Sellin favors a date earlier than Trito-Isaiah but believes it

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41. Smith, G. A., The Book of Isaiah, II, p. 489.

42. Isaiah 63:18.

43. Wade, G. A., The Book of Isaiah, p. 397.

44. Gressmann, Budde, Littmann, Smith and Whitehouse, as cited by Smith, G. A., op. cit., II, p. 489.

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41. Smith, G. A., The Book of Isaiah, II, p. 489.  
42. Isaiah 63:18.  
43. Wade, G. A., The Book of Isaiah, p. 587.  
44. Grossmann, 1895b, Smith and Whitcomb, as cited by Smith, G. A., op. cit., II, p. 489.

was written between 515-500, after an assumed devastation of Zerrubbabel's Temple and Duhm assigns the passage to Trito-Isaiah, after an assumed devastation by Samaritans, shortly before Nehemiah came.<sup>45</sup> Cheyne advocates a date later than Trito-Isaiah, after an assumed destruction by Artaxerxes Ochus, 350.<sup>46</sup> Oesterley and Robinson come to the same point of view as that of Cheyne.<sup>47</sup>

It seems to me that the date 538-520 is attended by fewer difficulties than any of the alternatives that have been proposed.

Isaiah 63:1-6 is an independent poem, but it stands in close connection with the preceding chapter, depicting, as the counterpart of Israel's redemption, the infliction of vengeance upon its foes. The writer, in a highly pictorial description, represents Yahweh as a warrior dripping with blood as He arrived from the battle fields of Edom. He has Yahweh declare that He alone, without any other to aid Him, has been engaged in a day of vengeance and has trodden down and mangled his foes in slaughter, since it is the year of deliverance of His people.

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45. Sellin and Guhn as cited by G. A. Smith, *Ibid.*, II, p. 489.

46. Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

47. Oesterley and Robinson, Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament, p. 285.



was written between 528-530, after an assumed devastation of  
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 Isidore, after an assumed devastation by Gassians, shortly  
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45. Isidore and Robinson as cited by E. A. Smith, *Idem*, II, p. 483.  
 46. Chrysostom, op. cit., p. 525.  
 47. Gassian and Robinson, *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, p. 525.

It is quite probable that Deutero-Isaiah was the author of this passage. It was his custom to describe at intervals the passion and effort of Israel's Mighty One. In the six verses there are several of Deutero-Isaiah's well-known phrases.<sup>48</sup>

#### B. Haggai (520)

By the year 520, sixteen years had elapsed since the return of the Jewish exiles from Babylon and the Temple had not been rebuilt. In the second year of Darius (520), the prophets Haggai and Zechariah came to Jerusalem,<sup>49</sup> reproached the people for their neglect, and urged them to rebuild the Temple, with the result that four years afterwards the work was completed.<sup>50</sup>

The book of Haggai is very short, containing only two chapters. Small as the book is, it is of importance for the insight it gives of early post-exilic conditions in Palestine of which we have at best but scanty knowledge. The opening verse of the book mentions Haggai as having uttered the short addresses contained in the two chapters. There can be no doubt that these addresses were originally spoken by Haggai but it is quite doubtful that the book as it stands now came

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48. For further discussion see Smith, G. A., op. cit., pp. 481-484.

49. Ezra 4:24; 5:1-2.

50. Ibid., 6:14-15.

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from the hand of the prophet, for certainly he would not have contented himself with such fragmentary material.<sup>51</sup> Throughout the book the prophet is always spoken of in the third person. This is very unlikely to have been the case had Haggai himself penned the writing. In all probability it is the work of a contemporary who has recorded the salient points of the prophet's addresses. To him will also be due the exact dates so characteristic of the book. The book was written in prose and contains few passages of power and beauty. But for the history of the time it is of the highest value. The book was probably written within a year or two at most of 520, and has reached us, apart from a little textual corruption and glossing, as it left the hands of its author.

#### C. Zechariah 1-8 (520-516)

Two months after Haggai had delivered his first address to the people in 520, and a little over a month after the building of the Temple had begun,<sup>52</sup> Zechariah appeared with a message of encouragement.

The book of Zechariah falls into two parts, clearly distinguished from each other by their contents and character, Chapter 1-8 and chapter 9-14. There is no question that

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51. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 407.

52. Haggai 1:15.

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### 3. *Isaiah* 1-39 (520-515)

Two months after Haggai had delivered his first address to the people in 520, and a little over a month after the building of the Temple had begun,<sup>52</sup> *Isaiah* appeared with a message of encouragement.

The book of *Isaiah* falls into two parts, closely dis- tingished from each other by their contents and character. Chapter 1-39 and chapter 40-66. There is no question that

<sup>51</sup> Gaster and Robinson, op. cit., p. 407.

<sup>52</sup> Haggai 1:15.

chapters 1-8 are the work of the Zechariah whose name they bear, but the authorship and date of chapters 9-14 are disputed. Only chapters 1-8 come within the scope of this work.

The prophecies of Zechariah are accurately dated. In the formal dating, the prophet speaks of himself in the third person, elsewhere in the first person.

That which distinguishes Zechariah from the other prophets is his series of visions.<sup>53</sup> Here we discover his originality, for they are really a little apocalypse. Zechariah was one of the first apocalyptic writers, although not the first, for Ezekiel preceded him. Chapters 7 and 8, delivered two years later than the rest of the book, are occupied with the ethical conditions of the impending Messianic kingdom.

Zechariah's great dependence on his predecessors, his fusion of priestly and prophetic interests, his love of allegory, his belief in magic, all show that he was not a great prophet, but he is most interesting for all that. His book is of great historical value, affording as it does contemporary evidence of the drooping hopes of the early post-exilic community, and of the new manner in which this disappointment was met by prophecy.

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53. Zechariah 1:7-6:8.



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53. Zechariah 1:7-6:8.

D. Malachi (after 516 and before 444)

This book has an anonymous author. The name "Malachi," which means "my messenger" was a misinterpretation of the words "Behold, I send my messenger,"<sup>54</sup> which was taken to refer to the prophet himself.

There are not many books in the Old Testament which can be dated with more certainty than this one. That the author lived in the post-exilic period is self-evident because his thoughts, teachings, and diction fit into this period. The book was written after 516 because the Temple had been built and the full sacrificial system was in vogue, thus, in 3:1 it is said:

....and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, and in 3:10 "mine house" is spoken of; besides the offerings of sacrifice in the Temple is assured all through. In 1:10 it is said: Oh that there were among you that would shut the doors, that ye might not kindle (fire) on mine altar in vain. I have no pleasure in you, saith Jehovah of hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hand.

The "doors" here refer obviously to those of the Temple, which the prophet desired should be altogether closed on account of the polluted offerings brought for sacrifice.

The book was written before the time of Nehemiah and Ezra because the condition of the priesthood and of a large section

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54. Malachi 3:1.

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There are not many books in the Old Testament which can be dated with more certainty than this one. That the author lived in the post-exilic period is self-evident because his book was written after 516 because the Temple had been built and the full sacrificial system was in vogue, thus, in 5:11 it

is said:

....and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, and in 3:10 "mine house" is spoken of; besides the offering of sacrifices in the Temple is as- sured all through. In 1:10 it is said: "On that there were among you that would shut the doors, that ye might not kindle (fire) on mine altar in vain. I have no pleasure in you, saith Jehovah of hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hands."

The "doors" here refer obviously to those of the Temple, which the prophet desired should be altogether closed on account of the polluted offerings brought for sacrifice.<sup>55</sup>

The book was written before the time of Nehemiah and Ezra because the condition of the priesthood and of a large section

<sup>54</sup> Malachi 3:1.



of the people was such that the reforms of these two men could not possibly have taken place yet; this necessitates a date before 444. In the book of Malachi, there is no distinction made between priests and Levites,<sup>55</sup> all the sons of Levi are priests. According to the Priestly Code, there was a great difference between them, the Levites being quite a subordinate order. This anonymous prophet's horror of the idea of divorce<sup>56</sup> is in marked contrast to the teaching and action of Nehemiah and Ezra, whose strictness would have made such a thing impossible. One other thing which points to a pre-Nehemiah-Ezra period is that the references to the Law in the book suggest the Deuteronomic rather than the Priestly Code.

This anonymous prophet adopted a novel literary form. He first states briefly the truth which he desires to enforce, then follows the contradiction or objection which it is supposed to provoke, finally there comes the prophet's reply, reasserting and substantiating his original proposition.

#### E. Trito-Isaiah (Before 444)

It is generally recognized to-day, chiefly as a result of the researches of Bernhard Duhm, that chapters 56-66, which had previously been attributed to the Second Isaiah, in reality belong to the century after the return.<sup>57</sup> Duhm believed that

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55. Malachi 2:4-9; 3:3.

56. Ibid., 2:14-16.

57. Duhm, as cited by Creelman, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 209.

of the people was such that the reform of these two men could not possibly have taken place yet; this necessitates a date before 441. In the book of Malachi, there is no indication made between Malachi and Leviticus.<sup>55</sup> All the same of Leviticus exists. According to the Priestly Code, there was a great difference between them, the Levites being quite a subordinate order. This anonymous prophet's horror of the idea of divorce is in marked contrast to the teaching and action of Jeremiah and Ezra, whose strictness would have made such a thing impossible. The other thing which points to a pre-Malachi date is that the references to the law in the book suggest the Deuteronomist rather than the Priestly Code. This anonymous prophet adopted a novel literary form. He first states briefly the truth which he desires to enforce, then follows the contradiction or objection which it is supposed to provoke, finally there comes the prophet's reply, reasoning and substantiating his original proposition.

M. Third-Isaiah (Isaiah 44)

It is generally recognized to-day, chiefly as a result of the researches of scholars such as chapters 44-46, which has previously been attributed to the Second Isaiah, in reality belong to the century after the return.<sup>57</sup> Many believed that

55. Malachi 2:4-5; 2:8.  
56. Ibid., 2:14-15.  
57. Ibid., as cited by Greenman, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 200.

these chapters were the work of a disciple of the unnamed prophet of the exile. He proposed to call him the Trito-Isaiah.

Today, many modern critics believe that these chapters should cease to be considered as the work of a single author. For in spite of their appearance of being related, a similarity due to their having been written in the language and with the mentality of one and the same period, there are distinct differences, both of inspiration and of emphasis. These differences can be best explained if the chapters are attributed to several authors and several generations.

There are several lines of reasoning that lead us to believe that these chapters belong to post-exilic times. The existence of the Temple is presupposed<sup>58</sup> which points to a date after 516, at which time the Temple was completed.<sup>59</sup> In these chapters more prominence is given to the sacrificial system,<sup>60</sup> priesthood,<sup>61</sup> and to religious institutions and ceremony<sup>62</sup> than in Isaiah 40-55. This certainly favors a post-exilic date. No mention is anywhere made of Babylon. When the author wrote, a large proportion of the Israelite people were still dispersed, but a body of exiles had already

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58. Isaiah 56:7; 60:7; 62:9, and especially 65:11 and 66:2.

59. Ezra 6:15f.

60. Isaiah 56:7; 60:7; 62:9; 66:20.

61. Ibid., 66:21; 61:6.

62. Ibid., 56:2, 6; 58:13; 66:23; 58:2.



These chapters were the work of a disciple of the unnamed prophet of the exile. He proposed to call him the Trito-Isaiah.

Today, many modern critics believe that these chapters should seem to be considered as the work of a single author. For in spite of their appearance of being related, a similarity due to their having been written in the language and with the mentality of one and the same period, there are also clear differences, both of inspiration and of emphasis. These differences can be best explained if the chapters are attributed to several authors and several generations.

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56. Ezra 6:16.  
57. Isaiah 55:7; 56:7; 58:10.  
58. Isaiah 55:12; 56:1.  
59. Isaiah 55:12; 56:1; 58:12; 58:13; 58:14.

returned to their own land,<sup>63</sup> where they were in much distress.<sup>64</sup> Their numbers were few. The social conditions reflected in these chapters harmonize with those which are known to have existed after the exile; the oppression of the poor by the rich or of slaves by their master,<sup>65</sup> the leaders of the community are described as greedy, worthless and self-indulgent.<sup>66</sup> There are indications of two parties, one strict and zealous for Yahweh, and the other indifferent to all religious matters. Such a condition existed in the first century after the restoration.<sup>67</sup> From Isaiah 58:12 and 60:10 we learn that the walls of Jerusalem were still unrestored, hence, these chapters must have been written before Nehemiah arrived in 444.

Let us now examine the various literary pieces which comprise Isaiah 56-66 that may be regarded as belonging to the period 516-444.

56:1-8 is a self-contained literary piece, quite independent of what precedes or follows. From verses 5 and 7 it is clear that the Temple had been rebuilt. The universalistic note expressed in these two verses is so different from the narrow outlook characteristic of Nehemiah's attitude that it

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63. Isaiah 56:8.

64. Ibid., 61:3.

65. Cf. Isaiah 58:3-6, 9; 59:3f. with Nehemiah 5 and Malachi 3:5.

66. Cf. Isaiah 56:10-12 with Ezra 9:1ff. Nehemiah 13:4, 28.

67. Isaiah 57:1, 15 20; 59:4-8, 18; 65:8, 13ff., with Malachi 3:5, 15-18.

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63. Isaiah 53:6.  
64. 10:13, 61:3.  
65. 57. Isaiah 59:8-9, 60:31. With Nehemiah 5 and Malachi 3:6.  
66. 57. Isaiah 58:10-12 with Ezra 3:10. Nehemiah 13:4, 5.  
67. Isaiah 57:1, 58:3-5, 59:13, 60:1, 61:1, with Malachi 3:6, 12-15.



must belong to a time before his regime held sway.

In 56:9-57:13 there is nothing to show that the Temple had been rebuilt or that the passage belongs to a time after this. From 57:4-8 we learn that it was written in Palestine. The whole section speaks of idolatrous worship on the part of the people. Certainly if Nehemiah had been present he would not have tolerated this. Hence it must have been written either before Nehemiah's time, or after the time of Ezra, i.e., after 397, when the influence of these two leaders had waned among certain sections of the people.

In the next section, 57:14-21 we learn from verse 19 that the Temple has been built. Other verses in the poem<sup>68</sup> point to undesirable elements among the people of a kind that Nehemiah would not have permitted, so that the conditions suggest a time before his arrival.

Chapter 58 is again a self-contained piece. From verse 2 we learn that the Temple had been rebuilt. From verse 12 we can see that the city walls had not yet been repaired. This points clearly to a time before the days of Nehemiah.

Chapter 59 is made up of four sections. Verses 1-4 give us no indication of date, they could belong to almost any time. But 5-8 would seem to be a later insertion. Verses

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68. Isaiah 57:14, 17, 20.

must belong to a time before his regime held sway.

In 55:3-57:13 there is nothing to show that the Temple had been rebuilt or that the passage belongs to a time after this. From 57:1-8 we learn that it was written in Palestine. The whole section speaks of idolatrous worship on the part of the people. Certainly if Nebuchadnezzar had been present he would not have tolerated this. Hence it must have been written either before Nebuchadnezzar's time, or after the time of Ezra, i.e., after 397, when the influence of these two leaders had spread among certain sections of the people.

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Chapter 58 is again a self-contained piece. From verse 12 we learn that the Temple had been rebuilt. From verse 13 we can see that the city walls had not yet been repaired. This points clearly to a time before the days of Nehemiah. Chapter 59 is made up of four sections. Verses 1-4 give us no indication of date, they would belong to almost any time, but 5-9 would seem to be a later insertion. Verses

9-15a are liturgical in character and point to a time possibly after Ezra. The section 15b-21 with its eschatological note in verse 19 must also belong to a later time.

The three chapters, 60-62 describe the coming felicity of Zion. These chapters must have been produced under approximately the same conditions and about the same time. That they were produced after the return from the exile in 538 appears from the mention in 60:7, 13: 62:9 of the altar and Temple. They show traces of having been written under the influence of the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah and bear a close resemblance, in particular, to chapters 57 and 55.

Chapters 65 and 66 have many features in common. That the Temple has been built is indicated in 65:11 and 66:6. The idolatrous form of worship mentioned in 65:2-5, 11; 66:17 points to a time before Nehemiah's arrival; such things would never have been tolerated by him. Some critics believe that 66:5, 17-24, comes from the latter part of the fourth century because of the universalistic attitude of verses 18-21, 23, and the eschatological nature of verses 22, 24. The remaining sections of Trito-Isaiah, 63:1-6; 63:7-64:12, I have already discussed. I believe they were written some where between 538-520.

65. Greenman, op. cit., pp. 241-245.  
 70. Ibid., p. 245.  
 71. Leviticus 16.  
 72. Ibid., 28:1-13.



9-12a are illustrated in character and point to a time possibly after 800. The section 150-21 with its eschatological note in verse 19 must also belong to a later time.

The three chapters, 52-54 describe the coming felicity of Zion. These chapters must have been produced under approximately the same conditions and about the same time. That

they were produced after the return from the exile in 538 appears from the mention in 50:7, 12; 52:9 of the altar and Temple. They show traces of having been written under the influence of the prophesies of Deutero-Isaiah and bear a close resemblance, in particular, to chapters 57 and 58.

Chapters 55 and 56 have many features in common. That the Temple has been built is indicated in 55:11 and 56:6. The idolatrous form of worship mentioned in 55:8-9, 11; 56:17

points to a time before Nehemiah's arrival; such things would never have been tolerated by him. Some critics believe that

56:6, 17-24, comes from the latter part of the fourth century because of the universalistic attitude of verses 18-21.

58, and the eschatological nature of verses 22, 24. The two main sections of Trite-Isaiah, 53:1-6; 53:7-54:13, I have already discussed. I believe they were written some where

between 550-580.

F. The Priestly Code and Priestly Redaction of the Pentateuch (500-400)

At one time, it was believed that P was the earliest of the Pentateuchal sources and there are still scholars who assign at least the main stock of it to 9-8 century. That P, in its earliest unified form, was written about 500 is the general opinion of contemporary criticism.<sup>69</sup>

The pre-exilic period shows no indications of the legislation of P as being in operation.<sup>70</sup> The entire evidence of the historical books (except Chronicles, written 300, based on P) betrays no acquaintance with the characteristic institutions of P. The ritual practiced in the times of the Judges and Samuel, was very much simpler than that of P and entirely different. A number of the institutions prominent in P, such as the day of atonement,<sup>71</sup> Jubilee year<sup>72</sup> and sin offering are not referred to in pre-exilic literature. The attitude of the prophets toward form and ceremony could not have been so intensely bitter had the elaborate system of P been endowed with the authority of Moses; passages like Jeremiah 7:22, Hosea 6:4, Amos 5:25 are incompatible with the existence of P.

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69. Creelman, op. cit., pp. 241-248.

70. Ibid., p. 242.

71. Leviticus 16.

72. Ibid., 25:8-13.

P. The Priory Code and Its Relation to the  
Testamentary Code

At one time, it was believed that P was the earliest of the Testamentary sources and there are still scholars who assign at least the main stock of it to 9-10 century. That P, in its earliest written form, was written about 500 is the general opinion of contemporary criticism.<sup>69</sup>

The pre-exilic period shows no indication of the legislation of P as being in operation.<sup>70</sup> The entire evidence of the historical books (except Chronicles, written 300, based on P) betrays no acquaintance with the characteristic institutions of P. The ritual prescribed in the times of the Judges and Samuel, was very much simpler than that of P and entirely different. A number of the institutions prominent in P, such as the day of atonement,<sup>71</sup> Jubilee year,<sup>72</sup> and sin offerings are not referred to in pre-exilic literature. The attitude of the prophets toward form and ceremony could not have been so intensely bitter had the elaborate system of P been endowed with the authority of Moses; passages like Jeremiah 7:22, Hosea 6:6, Amos 5:22 are incompatible with the existence of P.

69. Gressmann, op. cit., pp. 241-242.  
70. Ibid., p. 242.  
71. Leviticus 16.  
72. Ibid., 25:2-12.



Many features of P are in advance of the Deuteronomic legislation, 621, and point to a later age.<sup>73</sup> The law of the central sanctuary, in this Code, is presupposed as already existing.<sup>74</sup> The priestly office, which according to Deuteronomy could be performed by any member of the tribe of Levi, on condition of his residence at the central sanctuary,<sup>75</sup> in P is limited to the descendants of Aaron.<sup>76</sup> The system of feasts and sacrifices, as given in P, is more elaborate and defined with more exactness than in Deuteronomy.

In some details the legislation of the Priestly Code marks an advance upon the constitution of the restored Jewish community, outlined in Ezekiel 40-48, and hence points to a later stage of compilation. According to Deuteronomy,<sup>77</sup> the Levites had the privilege of performing priestly offices at the central sanctuary. In Ezekiel 44:6-16 the Levites have been deprived of this prerogative and henceforth have to perform the menial offices of the sanctuary. It was further added that in the future the "sons of Zadok," for their fidelity to Yahweh, were to have the exclusive priestly right.<sup>78</sup> According to the Priestly legislation the distinction

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73. Creelman, op. cit., p. 241.

74. Leviticus 17:1-9.

75. Deuteronomy 18:1-8, 10:8.

76. Leviticus 7:32-34; Numbers 18:8-20.

77. Deuteronomy 18:1ff.

78. Ezekiel 44:15.



between the Levites and priests, as to their respective rank and prerogatives, was assumed.<sup>79</sup>

The completed Priestly legal code, as compared with the Law of Holiness,<sup>80</sup> represents a further progress in several of the laws. If P had been in existence in 538 it is very difficult to see why it was not carried back with the exiles, and used as the basis of the restored community. The natural conclusion from these facts is that the P, is not only later than the Deuteronomic Code, but also subsequent to Ezekiel 40-48 and the Law of Holiness, which represents the earliest section of the P to be compiled. Thus P must have been compiled some where around 500.

The first positive evidence of the appearance of the Priestly law in history was in connection with the giving of the law by Ezra in 397. In this year a legal code was read before a public gathering of the people of Jerusalem,<sup>81</sup> which was either this Code or was a larger Code of which P was a part. That P was at least contained in it is undoubted from the details of the feast of booths, which was celebrated at that time<sup>82</sup> in accordance with the provision of P,<sup>83</sup> rather than with the ritual of Deuteronomy.

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79. Numbers 1-9, especially 3:5ff, 1:48ff.

80. Leviticus 17-26.

81. Nehemiah 8:1

82. Ibid., 8:13ff.

83. Leviticus 23:39-43.





The Priestly Code adopted under the leadership of Ezra, as the fundamental law of Israel, was not the only sacred book of the Jewish church. The law of Deuteronomy, especially in the edition which had combined JED, was of fundamental authority also. Could these two sets of laws exist side by side? There was only one thing to do. JED must be incorporated in P. Genealogical tables, statistical enumerations, stories of ancient religious institutions, together with many ancient traditions, and a mass of time honored priestly customs were all in the possession of the priestly writers. With their genealogical and statistical tables as a framework, and their ritualistic ideal as their philosophy of history they joined P with JED in one composite work. We can not say exactly when the whole process was completed but it is generally believed to be early in the second century.<sup>84</sup>

#### G. Job (450-350)

The book of Job sets forth one of the most penetrating interpretations of human suffering the world has ever seen. The date of the book and its author is not stated. The book comes from an age of reflection, and would seem to follow Habakkuk and Jeremiah. It has a world outlook and is not specifically Hebrew, which would indicate lateness of origin.

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84. Bewer, Literature of the Old Testament, p. 277.





The book consists of five main divisions:-<sup>85</sup>

1. The prologue (1-2), written in prose.
2. The colloquies between Job and his three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, written in poetry (3-31).
3. The discourses of Elihu (32-37), likewise poetical, except the introductory verses 32:1-6.
4. Jehovah's reply to Job (38:-42:6) also poetical.
5. The epilogue, recounting Job's subsequent fortunes, in prose (42:7-17).

Because of the structure of the book, it is necessary to consider two dates, that of the popular story on which the poem is based and that of the poem itself. The former is certainly pre-exilic, a conclusion which is obvious both from the references in Ezekiel 14:14, 20, and from the fact that the sacrificial system is clearly not developed as it was in the post-exilic times.

It is less easy to be sure of the date of the poem. Chapter 12:17 shows a knowledge of the dethronement of kings and the exile of priests and nobles which compels a date, at any rate, later than the fall of the northern kingdom (721), more probably also of the southern. Not very much can be made out of the parody of Psalm 8:4 in Job 7:17 because we have no means of fixing precisely the date of the Psalm. Job's lament and curse in chapter 3 are strikingly similar to

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85. Driver, Literature of the Old Testament, p. 409.

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3. The discourse of Eliphaz (32-37), likewise written in poetry, except the introductory verses 32:1-3.
4. Jehovah's reply to Job (38:1-42:6) also written in poetry.
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Jeremiah 20:14-18, and there can be little doubt that the priority lies on the side of the prophet. This then would bring us down to a time, at the earliest, very near the exile.

It is interesting to note that the moral problem in the book of Job is in advance of Jeremiah or Ezekiel. Again in the explanation that the children's teeth are set on edge because their fathers have eaten sour grapes, Ezekiel has nothing to offer but a rather mechanical doctrine of strict retribution.<sup>86</sup> The book of Job represents a further state, when that doctrine was seen to be untenable; and the whole question is again boldly raised and still more boldly discussed. This would carry the date beyond Ezekiel. Scholars are quite well agreed that the book was written before Chronicles (300), as in I Chronicles 21:1 Satan is a proper name, whereas in Job the word is still an appellative- he is "the Satan."<sup>87</sup> The implicit monotheism makes a post-exilic date practically certain and there are peculiarities of style and language which suggest that it is not to be placed too soon after the return. Occasionally, for instance, we meet with Aramaisms, not only in vocabulary but even in syntax.<sup>88</sup> In general, these considerations would seem to point to a date somewhere between

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86. Ezekiel 18.

87. Creelman, op. cit., p. 238.

88. Driver, op. cit., p. 435.



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86. Ezekiel 18.  
 87. Greenman, op. cit., p. 238.  
 88. Driver, op. cit., p. 238.

the middle of the fifth century and the middle of the fourth.

The Elihu speeches<sup>89</sup> have all the appearance of a later insertion. Elihu says nothing new for he takes substantially the view adopted by the friends. Elihu is introduced in a fashion very different from that in which the other three friends are brought on the scene, and there is no other reference to him whatever. A few scholars, like Budde and Sellin, believe that this section comes from the original author but the majority of opinion feels that Elihu represents a redactional stage which would have been repudiated by the original poet.<sup>90</sup>

Chapter 28 is generally recognized as being added to the poem at a later date.<sup>91</sup> It is a hymn in praise of Wisdom in which the question is discussed, whence does wisdom come and where is its home? One other section often attributed to a later writer is the description of the two monstrous creatures, the hippopotamus and the crocodile, in 40:15-41:26.<sup>92</sup>

In structure, the Book of Job is of the nature of a drama, and may be termed a dramatic poem. "The action is, however, for the most part internal and mental, the successive scenes exhibiting the varying moods of a great soul struggling

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89. Job 32:37.

90. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 174.

91. Bewer, op. cit., p. 330.

92. Ibid., op. cit., p. 330.

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In structure, the Book of Job is of the nature of a  
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 scenes exhibiting the varying moods of a great soul struggling

90. Job 22:27.  
 91. Gasterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 174.  
 92. Lower, op. cit., p. 230.  
 93. Ibid., op. cit., p. 230.



with the mysteries of fate, rather than trying external situations.<sup>93</sup>

#### H. Ruth (450-400)

The book contains no clue as to its authorship. There is little doubt that the book was written as a complete work in practically the form in which we now have it. Possibly the genealogical note at the end is a later addition, intended to bring home the fact that a Moabitess was reckoned in David's ancestry.<sup>94</sup>

Some scholars have considered the book of Ruth to be exilic or post-exilic<sup>95</sup> but it seems to me that the author was more probably a contemporary of Nehemiah than of David. The book, in the Hebrew Scriptures, has a place only in the third, latest, and least venerable group of sacred books known technically as "the Writings."<sup>96</sup> The diction and style show the influence of the Aramaic language, which is never found in genuinely early Hebrew literature.<sup>97</sup> It is interesting to note that the author feels the necessity of explaining, as a kind of obsolete social curiosity, a custom which was duly sanctioned by law in Deuteronomy 25:5-10, itself only a late pre-exilic passage.<sup>98</sup>

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93. Driver, op. cit., p. 411.

94. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 83.

95. Creelman, op. cit., p. 249.

96. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 83.

97. Driver, op. cit., p. 455.

98. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 84.

with the exercises of fate, rather than trying external

attempts.<sup>93</sup>

#### W. Davis (1890-1900)

The book contains no clue as to its authorship. There is

little doubt that the book was written as a complete work in

practically the form in which we now have it. Possibly the

genealogical note at the end is a later addition, intended to

bring home the fact that a Hordkirk was known in Davis's

country.<sup>94</sup>

Some scholars have considered the book of Davis to be

early or post-exilic<sup>95</sup> but it seems to me that the author

was more probably a contemporary of Herodotus than of Davis.

The book, in the Hebrew Scriptures, has a place only in the

third, latest, and least venerable group of sacred books known

technically as "the Writings."<sup>96</sup> The diction and style show

the influence of the Aramaic language, which is never found

in genuinely early Hebrew literature.<sup>97</sup> It is interesting

to note that the author feels the necessity of explaining, as

a kind of obsolete local curiosity, a custom which was only

mentioned by law in Deuteronomy 22:2-10, itself only a late

pre-exilic passage.<sup>98</sup>

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93. Driver, op. cit., p. 411.  
94. Gaster and Robinson, op. cit., p. 63.  
95. Gaster, op. cit., p. 412.  
96. Gaster and Robinson, op. cit., p. 63.  
97. Driver, op. cit., p. 412.  
98. Gaster and Robinson, op. cit., p. 63.

It seems to me that the real purpose of the book was to justify, by the illustrious example of David's family, the legitimacy of intermarriage with Moabites, and more generally with foreigners. If this be the case the book was in all probability a protest against the policy of Ezra and Nehemiah<sup>99</sup> in the middle of the fifth century.

#### I. Isaiah 34-35 (450-400)

There is a good deal of uncertainty as to the date and authorship of these two chapters. These two prophecies sound as if they had been written by Trito-Isaiah or, if not by him, by another disciple of Deutero-Isaiah.<sup>100</sup>

The date of these chapters is derived from several considerations. In 34:5ff we have an intense hostility expressed toward Edom which points to an age as late, at least, as the exile. At that time the vindictiveness of the Jews was especially aroused by the Edomites toward them in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The promise and picture of the restoration of the Jewish exiles in chapter 34 presupposes a time before 586. When we come to study the literary features of the chapters they resemble such late writings as Isaiah 38:40-55; 56-66. On the bases of these

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99. Ezra 9, Nehemiah 13:23-27.

100. See Creelman, op. cit., p. 216 for further comparison.



It seems to me that the real purpose of the book was to  
 identify, by the illustrations, certain of David's family, the  
 activities of his immediate family with his father, and more generally  
 with his family. It is to be seen the book was in all  
 probability a protest against the policy of the State and the  
 in the minds of the other family.

# I. Isaiah 34-35 (1450-1500)

There is a good deal of uncertainty as to the date and  
 authorship of these two chapters. There are proposals to count  
 as if they had been written by Tiberius-Isaiah or, it not by  
 him, by another disciple of Tiberius-Isaiah. 100  
 The date of these chapters is derived from several con-  
 siderations. In 34:5-6 we have an intense hostility expressed  
 toward them which points to an age as late, at least, as the  
 exile. At that time the vindictiveness of the Jews was es-  
 pecially aroused by the Babylonians toward them in connection  
 with the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The promise and  
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 literary features of the chapters they resemble much more  
 written as Isaiah 34-35: 34-35. On the basis of these

99. See V. Tiberius 13:23-27.  
 100. See Greenberg, p. 117, p. 118 for further con-  
 sideration.

facts such scholars as Driver, Kirkpatrick, McCurdy, Gray and Moore assign these chapters to the closing years of the exile.<sup>101</sup>

Arguments, however, can be given in favor of a later date. The very fact that these chapters are based upon late exilic or even post-exilic writings, it is claimed, requires a date later than the exile. With this, harmonizes the further fact that in the later period also the Edomites were regarded with hostility.<sup>102</sup> It may be that the return predicted in chapter 35 is that of the Jews who were still in the dispersion. It is claimed by some that the indications of the chapters imply that the home of the writer was in Palestine, not in exile. Creelman suggests a tentative date for these chapters as 450-400<sup>103</sup> while Dr. Leslie places the date at 397.<sup>104</sup>

#### J. Jonah (350)

It is quite certain that the book of Jonah existed earlier than 200 for it was one of the Twelve Prophets referred to by Ben Sirach in 180.<sup>105</sup> How long before 200 it was written is more difficult to say.

101. Driver, Kirkpatrick, McCurdy, Gray and Moore, as cited by Creelman, op. cit., p. 196.

102. Malachi 1:2-5; Isaiah 63:1-6.

103. Creelman, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 216.

104. Leslie, Brief Outline and Bibliography for the History and Literature of Israel, p. 6.

105. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 372.





The reference we have to Nineveh in Jonah 3:3 seems to imply that the writer looks on that city as a city of the past. Certainly the expression "king of Nineveh"<sup>106</sup> would not have been used by a writer living while the Assyrian Empire existed. From this we can infer that the book was written some time after 606. The lateness of the book, and its remoteness from the events it records is quite clearly indicated to us by an examination of the language used. Aramaisms and later words or forms occur with frequency, particularly in 1:4, 5, 6, 7, 12; 2:1; 3:7; 4:6, 7, 8, 10. This leads us to believe that the book belongs to an early stage in the period of gradual transition from Hebrew to Aramaic, approximately 350 or thereabouts; some scholars would put it a little later.<sup>107</sup>

The psalm of thanksgiving in chapter 2 was probably interpolated into the narrative for it has no real relation to the circumstances of Jonah, who is represented as uttering it while in the belly of the fish.<sup>108</sup> With the exception of the psalm, the book is the work of a single hand.

As to who wrote the book of Jonah we do not know. Jonah, the son of Amittai, as we learn from 2 Kings 14:25, was a historical character who lived in the reign of Jeroboam II.,

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106. Particularly in chapter 3.

107. Greelman, op. cit., p. 280.

108. Bewer, op. cit., p. 405.

The reference we have to Micah in Isaiah 2:3 seems to imply that the writer looks on that city as a city of the East. Certainly the expression "king of Nineveh" would not have been used by a writer living while the Assyrian Empire existed. From this we can infer that the book was written some time after 606. The language of the book, and the references from the events it records is quite clearly dated to an era of no domination of the Assyrian Empire, and later words or forms occur with frequency, particularly in 1:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. This leads us to believe that the book belongs to an early stage in the period of Babylonian domination from 606 to 539, approximately.

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The main of the narrative in chapter 2 was probably introduced into the narrative for it has no real relation to the circumstances of Jonah, who is represented as sitting it while in the belly of the fish. 108 With the exception of the main, the book is the work of a single hand. As to who wrote the book of Jonah we do not know. Jonah, the son of Amittai, as we learn from 2 Kings 14:25, was a historical character who lived in the reign of Jeroboam II.

106. Particularly in chapter 2.  
107. Graciously, of course.  
108. Better, of course, p. 107.

and predicted to that king the successful issue of his struggle with the Syrians, which ended with the restoration of the territory of Israel to its ancient limits. None of his prophecies are preserved, but he was most probably a thoroughly nationalistic prophet. The anonymous author of this book used the historical character Jonah as the representative of the narrow nationalistic tendency among the Jews, according to which they alone were Yahweh's peculiar people and the sole object of His love and care, while the heathen were not only their enemies but also Yahweh's and merited nothing but punishment and destruction. Thus we see that the book of Jonah is really a narrative and not a prophecy of Jonah for it is a story about a prophet.

#### K. Joel (350)

This book consists of two main division. The first part (1:2-2:27) consists of a graphic description of the invasion of the locusts and the consequent suffering of the people. The second part (2:28-3:21) is apocalyptic in character and deals with what shall come afterward.

Of the author, we have no direct information beyond his name and that of his father, Pethuel.<sup>109</sup> It is quite likely that he was a native of Jerusalem. The Temple,<sup>110</sup> the

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109. Joel 1:1.

110. Ibid., 2:17.



and proceeded to state that the successful issue of his struggle with the Syrians, which ended with the restoration of the territory of Israel to its original limits. Some of his prophecies are preserved, but he was most probably a forerunner of nationalistic prophet. The anonymous author of this book used the historical character of the representative of the narrow nationalistic tendency among the Jews, according to which they alone were Yahweh's peculiar people and the sole object of His love and care, while the heathen were not only their enemies but also Yahweh's and rejected nothing but punishment and destruction. Thus we see that the book of Isaiah is really a narrative and not a prophecy of Isaiah for it is a story about a prophet.

### 2. The Book of Isaiah

This book consists of two main divisions. The first part (1:1-39:6) consists of a series of prophecies of the destruction of the Jews and the consequent scattering of the people. The second part (40:1-66:24) is apocalyptic in character and deals with what shall come afterward. Of the author, we have no direct information beyond his name and that of his father, Isai. It is quite likely that he was a native of Jerusalem. The people, the

110. 1212, 2:17.  
110. 1212, 2:17.

priests,<sup>111</sup> and the daily sacrifice<sup>112</sup> are the things with which he is familiar. This prophet had evidently studied the great literature of the past and had reflected upon it for in this short book of only seventy verses there are no less than twenty quotations from other Old Testament writers.<sup>113</sup>

The older commentators regarded Joel as the earliest of the writing prophets and assigned him most generally to the ninth century. Today scholars are practically unanimous in agreeing that a post-exilic date satisfies the conditions better.<sup>114</sup> In this book we have no references to kings, high places, or idolatry. This could hardly be possible if written in pre-exilic times. Certainly the interest of the book in sacrifice is entirely opposed to the attitude of all pre-exilic prophets. Moreover, it would be very difficult to explain the attitude of Amos<sup>115</sup> toward the day of Yahweh if Joel had preceded him. On the other hand, the book fits admirably into the post-exilic age, and may be assigned with a fair degree of confidence to around 350. At this time, the Jewish community was confined to a small territory around Jerusalem. The rule of the Persians was not oppressive and

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111. Joel 1:9, 13.

112. Ibid., 1:9, 13; 2:14.

113. Creelman, op. cit., p. 220.

114. Ibid., p. 218.

115. Amos 5:18-20.

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- 111. Joel 1:2, 13.
  - 112. Intro., 1:1; 2:14.
  - 113. Griesner, pp. 211, 1. 222.
  - 114. Intro., 2. 212.
  - 115. Amos 2:12-13.



the Jews were left free to manage their own affairs under the elders and priests. The priests, not the prophets, were the leading religious figures at this time. Prophetic teaching was now giving place to apocalyptic hopes. Such a situation is reflected in the book of Joel.

The numerous parallels with other books found in Joel are easily explained if they are quotations. There are many features of Joel which have their origin in Ezekiel. The gathering of the nations and their destruction before Jerusalem<sup>116</sup> is based upon the destruction of Gog and his hordes in Ezekiel 38 and 39. The description of the fountain issuing from beneath the Temple hill<sup>117</sup> receives its explanation in Ezekiel 47:1-12; similarly, the outpouring of the Spirit of Yahweh's jealousy for his land finds its counterpart in Ezekiel.

The marked difference between the two sections of the book, one concerned with a scourge of locusts, the other with the final judgment, and yet both parts relating to the day of Yahweh, has created difficulty for interpreters. The early commentators tried to avoid the difficulty by treating the first part as allegory, the locusts representing an enemy, or, rather, four heathen empires, but this view has now been

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116. Joel 3:10.

117. Ibid., 3:18.

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116. Joel 2:13.  
117. Ibid., 2:18.

given up. A more recent way of getting over the difficulty is to attribute the book to two authors, or to regard all references to the day of Yahweh in the first part as interpolations. Oesterley and Robinson assign a date to the apocalyptic portion not earlier than 200.<sup>118</sup>

Bewer believes that a later editor combined the two originally different parts, the locust speeches and the day of Yahweh addresses, and inserted at various places in chapter I and 2 references to the day of Yahweh.<sup>119</sup> Hence, it now seems as if the locusts were the precursors and heralds of the day of Yahweh or even the executors of Yahweh's wrath. Due to these interpolations,<sup>120</sup> the locusts have frequently been regarded not as real locusts but as apocalyptic beasts. The first who interpreted them thus was the author of the Revelation of John.<sup>121</sup>

The editor adds also at the end of the book a beautiful, though not original, description of the wonderful fertility of Judah and the spring that would flow out of the temple, watering the Valley of Shittim, and predicted the ruin of Egypt and Edom.<sup>122</sup> A still later writer, no doubt, inserted

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118. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 361.

119. Bewer, op. cit., p. 397.

120. Joel 1:15; 2:1b, 2a, 11.

121. Revelation 9:3ff.

122. Joel 3:18 ff.



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118. Gaster and Robinson, op. cit., p. 237.  
 119. Fewer, op. cit., p. 237.  
 120. Joel 1:18; 2:18; 2:11.  
 121. Revelation 9:3-11.  
 122. Joel 4:18-19.

in the prophecy of the judgment in the Valley of Jehoshaphat an oracle against the Philistines and Phoenicians.<sup>123</sup>

### L. Nehemiah--Ezra (300)

It is practically necessary to treat the books of Ezra and Nehemiah together for their contents overlap, much that was done by Ezra is recorded in the book of Nehemiah. Originally I and II Chronicles formed with the books of Ezra and Nehemiah a single work. The closing verses of Chronicles<sup>124</sup> are identical with the opening verses of Ezra. In the Jewish Canon as well as in the Septuagint Ezra-Nehemiah is regarded as one book. There are serious gaps in the narrative, but the period they cover is at least a century from 538-432.

As we study the history as given in Ezra-Nehemiah we find that it is at fault in some important respects. One can not fail to notice that there is some inconsistency as to who really took the lead in urging the rebuilding of the Temple, the prime purpose of the return.<sup>125</sup> At one time, we are told that the leader was Sheshbazzar,<sup>126</sup> at another, Jeshua and Zerubbabel,<sup>127</sup> and at another, Haggai and Zechariah, who stimulated Joshua and Zerubbabel.<sup>128</sup>

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123. Joel 3:2b-8.

124. 2 Chronicles 36:22, 23.

125. Ezra 1:3.

126. Ibid., 5:16.

127. Ibid., 3:10.

128. Ibid., 5:1, 2.

in the presence of the prophet in the valley of Jehoshaphat  
an oracle against the Philistines and Moabites. 123

### I. Jehoshaphat--Ezra (700)

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are told that the leader was Sheshbazzar, 126 at another,  
Jehoiada and Azariah, 127 and at another, Nehemiah and Zerubbabel,  
who stimulated Joshua and Nehemiah. 128

- 123. Ezra 1:1-6.
- 124. 2 Chronicles 36:22, 23.
- 125. Ezra 1:1-6.
- 126. Ezra 2:1-6.
- 127. Ezra 2:1-6.
- 128. Ezra 2:1-6.



More serious than this is the self-contradictory statements made with regard to the date of the laying of the foundation of the Temple. From the account given in Ezra 3:8, 5:16 this took place in the year after the return, i.e. 537-6. According to Ezra 5:1, 2 the foundation was laid in 520. In Ezra 4:24 we are told that the building of the Temple ceased until the second year of Darius, but in 5:5 this is contradicted: "They did not make them cease till the matter should come to Darius," and soon after the building was continued.<sup>129</sup> There is also a confusion between the building of the wall and the building of the Temple. In 4:6-23 reference is made to the building of the wall in the reign of Artaxerxes, and the narrative continues in 5:2ff. about the building both of the Temple and the wall in the reign of Darius.<sup>130</sup>

According to Ezra-Nehemiah, Ezra is represented as having arrived in Jerusalem in 458,<sup>131</sup> and that he was followed fourteen years later by Nehemiah, in 444.<sup>132</sup> In Nehemiah 8:2,9; 12:26 they are represented as contemporaries. This of course is not impossible as far as the dates are concerned but scholars today are quite well agreed that Nehemiah came first to Jerusalem in 444, and then he was followed half a century

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129. Ezra 6:7, 14.

130. Ibid., 5:3.

131. Ibid., 7:6, 9, 10.

132. Nehemiah 2:1.

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120. Ezra 3:1, 2.  
 121. Ezra 3:1, 2.  
 122. Ezra 3:1, 2.  
 123. Nehemiah 5:1.

later by Ezra, in 397.<sup>133</sup>

A considerable portion of the history of Ezra-Nehemiah is unreliable.<sup>134</sup> This can largely be accounted for by the fact that our book is a compilation, and the sources used have been unskillfully put together. The compiler's knowledge of the period of history dealt with was inadequate owing to the want of data, and it also must be taken into account that he had some preconceived ideas with which he colored his history.

For a better understanding of Ezra-Nehemiah let us consider the sources used in its compilation.

(a) Ezra Memoirs. There are a few extracts used by the compiler that are generally believed to have been taken from some record kept by Ezra himself. These are written in the first person and give us the impression of being really what they purport to be. These are contained in Ezra 7:27, 28; 8:1-34. There are some other passages which, though quite obviously not extracts, may well have been ultimately based on Ezra Memoirs. These passages are found in Ezra 7:1-10; 9:1-10:44; Nehemiah 7:73b-8:12, 13-18; 9.<sup>135</sup> In these passages Ezra is always spoken of in the third person.

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133. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., pp. 127-129.

134. Ibid., pp. 114-118.

135. Ibid., p. 112.



later of course, in 1871.  
 A considerable portion of the history of Maria-Schwanitz  
 is unaltered. This can largely be accounted for by the  
 fact that our book is a compilation, and the sources used  
 have been unalteredly put together. The compiler's knowledge  
 of the history of Maria-Schwanitz was inadequate owing to  
 the want of time, and it also must be taken into account that  
 he had some pre-conceived ideas with which he colored his  
 history.

For a better understanding of Maria-Schwanitz let us con-  
 sider the sources used in the compilation.

(a) Maria-Schwanitz. There are a few extracts used by the  
 compiler that are generally believed to have been taken from  
 some record kept by Maria-Schwanitz. These are written in the  
 first person and give us the impression of being really what  
 they report to be. These are contained in Maria-Schwanitz, 23;  
 24-25. There are some other passages which, though quite  
 obviously not extracts, may well have been directly taken  
 from Maria-Schwanitz. These passages are found in Maria-Schwanitz  
 21-22; Maria-Schwanitz 7:10-12, 13-14; 8:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

12. Confirmed and Robinson, op. cit., pp. 127-129.  
 13. Ibid., pp. 128-129.  
 14. Ibid., p. 129.

(b) Nehemiah Memoirs. Nehemiah wrote the story of what had taken place in Jerusalem after he had returned to the royal court of Artaxerxes in 432 from his governorship in Jerusalem. Extracts are to be found in Nehemiah 1:1-7:73a, 11:1-2, 13:4-31; some other passages have the appearance of originating from the same source, but they have been worked over by the Chronicler in accordance with his special point of view; these are 12:27-47, 13:1-3.<sup>136</sup>

(c) The Rescript of Artaxerxes. This rescript is given us in Ezra 7:12-26, and it purports to be the official royal permission given Ezra and those who desired to join him in returning to Palestine. Today, scholars believe that the detailed subject-matter of this rescript is wholly unhistorical, and is the composition if not of the Chronicler himself, then of one of his school.<sup>137</sup> The one historical element about it is the fact that a royal edict of some sort was issued, in which a body of Jews under Ezra were granted permission to go to Jerusalem.

(d) Temple Records. It is quite probably that some of the lists, such as Nehemiah 12:1-26 and Ezra 4:6-23; 5:1-6, 15 were copied from the records preserved in the Temple.

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<sup>136</sup>. Oesterley and Robinson, p. 113.

<sup>137</sup>. Ibid., p. 114.

(b) Nehemiah's Memoirs. Nehemiah wrote the story of what had taken place in Jerusalem after he had returned to the royal court of Artaxerxes in 445 from his governorship in Persia. Extracts are to be found in Nehemiah 1:1-7:73; 12:1-2, 13:4-14.

31; some other passages have the appearance of originating from the same source, but they have been worked over by the Chronicler in accordance with his special point of view; these are 12:27-29, 13:1-2, 13:3.

(c) The Narrative of Artaxerxes. This narrative is given us in Ezra 7:12-26, and it purports to be the official royal commission given Ezra and those who desired to join him in returning to Palestine. Today, scholars believe that the detailed subject-matter of this narrative is wholly unhistorical, and is the composition of one of the Chroniclers himself; then of one of his school. 137 The one historical element about it is the fact that a royal edict of some sort was issued, in which a body of Jews under Ezra were granted permission to go to Jerusalem.

(d) Temple records. It is quite probable that some of the lists, such as Nehemiah 12:1-26 and Ezra 8:2-25; 9:1-5, 10 were copied from the records preserved in the Temple.



Later sources which are indispensable aid to the study of our book are "Greek Ezra," the Elephantine Papyri and The Jewish Antiquities by Josephus.

As I have already pointed out Ezra-Nehemiah formed originally the concluding portion of I and II Chronicles. It is now generally believed that the compiler of our book was the same as the compiler of I and II Chronicles. The approximate date of the compilation is about 300.<sup>138</sup> The compiler wrote, therefore, more than a century after the period with which he was dealing. He interpreted the history he wrote in the light of the developments of his own day. With his veneration of the Temple, it is quite natural that he should consider that the prime desire of the returning exiles was to rebuild the Temple. At the time that the Chronicler wrote, the rift between the Samaritans and the Jews had developed into permanent antagonism. In his writing, he assumed that this had already taken place in the early days of the return, and he constructed his history accordingly. With his exalted ideas about the priesthood, it is not surprising that the Chronicler should have assumed that Ezra the priest took the initiative in all reforming movements rather than Nehemiah the layman.

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138. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 126.

Later sources which are indispensable aid to the study of  
our book are "Greek Myth", the Illustrated Papyrus and the  
Journal of the American Oriental Society.

As I have already pointed out, the Journal of the American Oriental Society  
originally the containing portion of I and II Chronicles. It  
is now generally believed that the compiler of our book was  
the same as the compiler of I and II Chronicles. The ap-  
proximate date of the compilation is about 300 B.C.<sup>130</sup> The  
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that this had already taken place in the early days of the re-  
turn, and he concentrated his history accordingly. With this ex-  
plained seems about the explanation, it is not surprising that  
the Chronicler should have assumed that Ezra the priest took  
the initiative in all restoration movements rather than Nehemiah  
the layman.

<sup>130</sup> Gasterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 133.

This leads us briefly to review the evidence in our belief that Nehemiah preceded Ezra in coming to Jerusalem.

McFadyen throws some light on the problem when he says:

The situation which Ezra finds on his arrival appears to presuppose a settled and orderly life, which was hardly possible until the city was fortified and the walls built by Nehemiah; indeed, Ezra, in his prayer, mentions the erection of the walls as a special exhibition of the divine love (Ezra 9:9).<sup>139</sup>

Nehemiah in his memoirs twice made mention of the need of increasing the population of Jerusalem.<sup>140</sup> This was really an important matter for it would not have been much use for Nehemiah to have built the city walls if there had been insufficient men to defend them in case of attack. In Ezra's time the situation was changed for there was clearly a large settled population in the city as indicated by Ezra 10:1 where it says that there was a "very great congregation of men and women and children," and in 10:13 similarly: "The people are many." These facts can be readily understood if Nehemiah came a generation before Ezra.

Nehemiah, in dealing with the question of mixed marriages, had hoped that by inducing those of his own people who had married non-Jewish women to promise that their children should

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<sup>139</sup>. McFadyen, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 379.

<sup>140</sup>. Nehemiah 7:4; 11:1, 2.



This leads us briefly to review the evidence in our  
letter that Nehemiah proposed that in coming to Jerusalem  
Nehemiah throw some light on the problem when he says:

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program, mentions the erection of the walls  
as a special exhibition of the divine love  
(Neh. 6:15, 18)

Nehemiah in his memoirs twice mentions of the need  
of increasing the population of Jerusalem.<sup>140</sup> This was really  
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time the situation was changed for there was already a large  
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it says that there was a "very great congregation of men and  
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came a generation before Ezra.

Nehemiah, in dealing with the question of mixed marriages,  
had hoped that by inducing those of his own people who had  
married non-Jewish women to promise that their children should

139. Nehemiah, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 272.  
140. Nehemiah 7:15, 18.

not marry outside the Jewish race, the evil of these mixed marriages would cease. This policy, however, did not work out. When Ezra came, conditions were as bad as ever and he took much more drastic measures in dealing with the problem. He made every man who had married a foreign wife put her away. Now, if Ezra preceded Nehemiah this sequence would be inconsequent. We know that Judaism became stricter, not more slack, in its exclusiveness as time went on. Hence it is more reasonable to believe that Nehemiah preceded Ezra.

We learn from Nehemiah's memoirs that he was a contemporary of the High Priest Eliashib.<sup>141</sup> According to Ezra's memoirs he was a contemporary of the High Priest Jehohanan, the grandson of Eliashib.<sup>142</sup> We learn from one of the Elephantine papyri that Jehohanan was High Priest in 408.<sup>143</sup> We know from Nehemiah 2:1 that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, and from Ezra 7:1, 7 that Ezra came to Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes. We are not told which Artaxerxes is meant but from what has been said there can be no doubt that in the case of Nehemiah it was Artaxerxes I who came to the throne in 464, so that his twentieth year was 444; in that of Ezra it was Artaxerxes II,

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141. Nehemiah 3:1

142. Ezra 10:6.

143. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 117.

not marry outside the Jewish race, the evil of these mixed marriages would cease. This policy, however, did not work out. When this case, conditions were as bad as ever and he took such more drastic measures in dealing with the problem. He made every man who had married a foreign wife put her away. Now, if this proposed Hebrewish this synagogue would be in-  
convenient. We know that Jewish people strictly, not more slack, in its exclusiveness as time went on. Hence it is more reasonable to believe that Hebrewish preceded later.

We learn from Hebraism's records that he was a contemporary of the High Priest Eliashib.<sup>141</sup> According to Ezra's records he was a contemporary of the High Priest Johanan, the grandson of Eliashib.<sup>142</sup> We learn from one of the Elephantine papyri that Johanan was High Priest in 408.<sup>143</sup> We know from Hebraism 2:1 that Hebraism came to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, and from Ezra 7:1, 7 that Ezra came to Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes. We are not told which Artaxerxes is meant but from what has been said there can be no doubt that in the case of Hebraism it was Artaxerxes I who came to the throne in 465, so that his twentieth year was 445; in that of Ezra it was Artaxerxes II,

141. Hebraism 2:1.  
142. Ezra 10:2.  
143. Elephantine, op. cit., p. 117.



who came to the throne in 404, so that his seventh year was 397.

### M. Psalms

In our present form the Psalter is divided into five books: 1-41; 42-72; 73-89; 90-106 and 107-150. Each of the first four closes with a doxology, in the case of the fifth, Psalm 150, being itself a doxology, makes a fitting close. It is quite probable that this fivefold division originated from viewing the Psalter as the counterpart of the Law.

A careful study of these five divisions of the Psalter reveals the gradual amalgamation within these books of several originally separate collections. The following is a list of various collections which are now parts of our Psalter:<sup>144</sup>

1. The compilation of a Davidic collection with a doxology at the close, 3-41.
2. The compilation of a second Davidic collection with a doxology at the close, 51-72.
3. The compilation of a collection entitled "of Asaph," probably a guild of Temple singers (Ezra 2:41) 50, 73-83. J. P. Peters suggests that this collection originally belonged to the sanctuary at Bethel.
4. The compilation of a collection entitled "of the Sons of Korah," likewise probably a guild of Temple singers (2 Chronicles 20:19), 42-49. Peters suggests that this collection originally belonged to the sanctuary at Dan.
5. The redaction of an Elohist Psalter,

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<sup>144</sup>. Leslie, "Psalms I-LXXII" Abingdon Bible Commentary, p. 510.

who came to the throne in 404, so that his seventh year was

397.

### M. Talmi

In our present work the Talmi is divided into five books: I-41; 42-72; 73-84; 85-100 and 101-120. Each of the first four books with a booklet, in the case of the fifth, Book 120, being itself a booklet, makes a fitting whole. It is quite probable that this Talmi's division originated from viewing the Talmi as the commentary of the Law. A careful study of these five divisions of the Talmi reveals the gradual amalgamation within these books of several originally separate collections. The following is a list of various collections which are now parts of our Talmi: 1-4

1. The compilation of a Talmi collection with a booklet at the close, 1-41.
2. The compilation of a second Talmi collection with a booklet at the close, 42-72.
3. The compilation of a collection entitled "of Talmi," probably a guide to Talmi's signs (Exa 2:41) 85, 73-84, 7.1.1. Later suggests that this collection originally belonged to the manuscript at Talmi.
4. The compilation of a collection entitled "at the house of Talmi," 11-12, 13-14, 15-16, 17-18, 19-20, 21-22, 23-24, 25-26, 27-28, 29-30, 31-32, 33-34, 35-36, 37-38, 39-40, 41-42. Later suggests that this collection originally belonged to the manuscript of Talmi.
5. The revision of an Alchistic Talmi.

- 42-83, out of psalms that were derived from the second, third, and fourth collections. The editor quite generally, but not consistently, substituted "Elohim" for "Jehovah."
6. The Elohistie Psalter was enlarged by the addition of 84-89.
  7. The compilation of a collection entitled "Songs of the Ascents" 120-134.
  8. The compilation of 90-150 around these "Songs of the Ascents" and other similar collections.

That these were at one time separate collections is supported by several observations. There are certain psalms in one collection that are repeated in another with only slight changes.<sup>145</sup> The closing words of book two "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended,"<sup>146</sup> indicate that all the existing psalms attributed to David, which were then known, were included in the preceding books. But there are many other psalms besides these which are ascribed to David, hence, at another time there must have been another collection of "Davidic" psalms. It is, therefore, clear that a number of collections have been incorporated in the Psalter. These collections were of gradual growth and many authors have contributed to them. Ultimately, all these collections were gathered together, and thus the Psalter, as we now have it, came into being.

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145. Leslie, "Psalms I-IXXII", Abingdon Bible Commentary, p. 512.

146. Psalm 72:20.



- 48-52, out of which only two were 52-  
rived from the second, third, and fourth  
collections. The other three generally  
but not consistently, mentioned "Sion"  
for "Zion."  
3. The Elkhart Register was enlarged by the  
addition of 48-52.  
4. The compilation of a collection entitled  
"Songs of the Ancestors" 123-124.  
5. The compilation of 50-100 around these  
"Songs of the Ancestors" and other similar  
collections.

That there were at one time separate collections is sug-  
gested by several observations. There are certain poems in  
one collection that are repeated in another with only slight  
changes. The closing words of book two "The prayers of  
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"Davidian" psalms. It is, therefore, clear that a number of  
collections have been incorporated in the Psalter. These  
collections were of special growth and many authors have  
contributed to them. Moreover, all these collections were  
gathered together, and thus the Psalter, as we now have it,  
came into being.

123. Psalms, "Psalms 1-123," American Bible Commentary,  
v. 212.  
124. Psalms 123-124.

The problem of the authorship and dating of the Psalms is one of the thorniest in the Old Testament. The titles offer data concerning the authorship of the psalms. Seventy-three are attributed to David, twelve to Asaph, nine to the sons of Korah, two to Solomon, one to Heman the Ezrahite, one to Ethan the Ezrahite, and one to Moses.<sup>147</sup> To each of these names is prefixed the preposition "of" or "belonging to," which originally may have designated the collection from which the psalm was taken rather than authorship. Nevertheless, David being looked upon as the founder of temple psalmody,<sup>148</sup> in the course of time all the psalms in the collection came to be credited to him. Today, however, only a relative few are ascribed to him.<sup>149</sup>

The most probable date of the Psalter is suggested by the intimate association of the psalms with the Temple worship as revealed in the Psalter, in the titles and in the Talmudic references. The Psalter was the hymn and prayer book of the second Temple. Within certain limits, it is possible to date the various collections of psalms. Obviously, they are earlier than the completion of the Psalter, some where around 100; also, the collections were later than the latest psalm

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<sup>147</sup>. Leslie, "Psalms I-LXXII", Abingdon Bible Commentary, p. 512.

<sup>148</sup>. I Chronicles 23:5; 25:1-7.

<sup>149</sup>. See Gray, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, pp. 137-139.

The problem of the authorship and dating of the Psalms is one of the thorniest in the Old Testament. The titles of the Psalms, which are found in the margin of the text, are of great importance in determining the authorship of the Psalms. Seventy-three of the Psalms are attributed to David, twelve to Asaph, nine to the sons of Korah, two to Heman, one to Kishai, and one to Urani. To each of these names is prefixed the designation "of" or "belonging to".

which originally may have designated the collection from which the psalm was taken rather than authorship. Nevertheless, David being looked upon as the founder of Jewish monarchy, in the course of time all the psalms in the collection came to be credited to him. Today, however, only a relative few are ascribed to him.

The most probable date of the Psalter is suggested by the different association of the psalms with the Temple worship as revealed in the Psalter, in the titles and in the Talmudic references. The Psalter was the hymn and prayer book of the Temple. Within certain limits, it is possible to date the various collections of psalms. Obviously, they are earlier than the completion of the Psalter, some where around 1000 B.C., the collections were later than the Davidic period.

157. David, "Psalms I-XXIV", Apocryphal Bible Commentary, 2: 213.  
 158. 1 Chronicles 16:8; 23:1-7.  
 159. See also, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, 2: 157-158.



which they originally contained.<sup>150</sup> A few psalms in the collections show more or less generally admitted signs of being post-exilic. The various collections therefore which we have in the Psalter were compiled between the sixth and the second centuries.<sup>151</sup> By arguments which cannot here be reproduced, Robertson Smith, in the Old Testament and the Jewish Church, chapter 7, reaches the following conclusions in detail.<sup>152</sup> The first Davidic collection (3-41) was compiled about the time of Ezra and Nehemiah; the second Davidic collection (51-72) in the fourth century; the Asaphite (50, 73-83) and Korahite (42-49) collections between 430-330; Jehovistic supplement to the Elohistie collections between 300-250 and the remaining collections (90-150) not earlier than 250.

It is beyond the scope of this study to try to date each one of the psalms. Attempts have been made to fix at least approximately the dates of all the psalms,<sup>153</sup> but the results are more or less uncertain. In the absence of practically all external evidence, the chronological notes in the titles are later editions, the date of a psalm must be determined almost entirely upon the basis of external evidence.

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150. Gray, op. cit., p. 134.

151. Ibid.

152. Also consult Creelman, op. cit., 230-232.

153. Note Bultenwieser, The Psalms Chronologically Treated.

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being post-exilic. The various collections therefore which we  
have in the Psalter were compiled between the sixth and the  
second centuries.<sup>181</sup> By arguments which cannot here be re-  
peated, Robertson Smith, in the Old Testament and the Jewish  
History, chapter V, traces the following succession in  
detail.<sup>182</sup> The first Davidic collection (3-61) was compiled  
about the time of Ezra and Nehemiah; the second Davidic col-  
lection (61-72) in the fourth century; the Asaphite (50, 73-  
83) and Korahite (42-49) collections between 430-380;  
the third Davidic collection to the Hittite collection between  
300-250 and the remaining collections (90-100) not earlier  
than 250.  
It is beyond the scope of this study to try to date each  
one of the psalms. Attempts have been made to fix at least  
approximately the dates of all the psalms,<sup>183</sup> but the results  
are more or less uncertain. In the absence of practically all  
external evidence, the chronological order in the titles and  
later editions, the date of a psalm must be determined almost  
entirely upon the basis of external evidence.

180. Gray, op. cit., p. 124.  
181. Ibid.  
182. Also compare Greenman, op. cit., 220-232.  
183. See Encyclopedia of the Bible, The Psalms Chronologically Arranged.

## CHAPTER II

### PERSIAN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### 1. CYRUS

The Persian empire was the creation of a single generation. It came into existence by a series of conquests, which followed one another in quick succession, scarcely equalled except by Alexander, and by the Arabs in the first generation after the death of Mohammed. Within a thirty year period, came the defeat of Astyages, the Mede, in 549; Croesus, the Lydian, in 546; the capture of Babylon in 538, and the conquest of Egypt in 525.

The term Persia, in modern Western usage, is applied to the whole Iranian plateau stretching from the Caspian in the west to the Hindu Kush in the east; from the steppes of Turkestan, the region of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south. In modern Oriental usage the name is preserved in the form, Fars. This, today, is applied only to the southwestern portion of the larger territory, while the general name of Iran or Eran is given to the whole. For the purpose of this study, the name Persia will be applied to the whole, for over it all, in greater or less degree for many centuries, Persian kings held sway.



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The personality largely responsible for the rapid development of the Persian empire was Cyrus, later known as Cyrus the Great. We have no knowledge of his childhood, youth, or education. The accession to his father's throne, as king of Anshan, took place in 558 if we may accept, on the authority of Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> twenty-nine years as the total length of his kingship. R. W. Rogers placed the date of his accession to the throne as 559.<sup>2</sup> Cyrus had the title of king of Anshan, but he had it only as a vassal of Astyages, the ruler of the Median empire. Cyrus was destined not always to bow before Astyages. According to Greek tradition, as related by Herodotus, Cyrus rebelled and was attacked by Astyages, with whom he had no less than three battles. The Babylonian narrative gives us no reason for the attack but simply states the fact that Astyages attacked Cyrus; Astyages' troops revolted giving the victory to Cyrus, and Astyages became his prisoner.<sup>3</sup>

As to what steps Cyrus took to make the whole new realm obedient to his will and how he organized his government, we know very little. There may be a hint as to the method in a phrase from Herodotus, "As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house till Astyages

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1. Herodotus, I. 214.

2. Rogers, A History of Ancient Persia, p. 36.

3. Cambridge Ancient History, IV, p. 7.

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1. Herodotus, I. 214.  
2. Rogers, A History of Ancient Persia, p. 58.  
3. Cambyses and Astyages, IV, p. 7.



died."<sup>4</sup> If this were the case, it showed a certain leniency and gentleness. If he applied this method to the whole population, no doubt it helped to establish confidence in the new government and to lessen the danger of serious revolt. Soon after Cyrus had defeated Astyages the name, Cyrus, appeared in the Babylonian Chronicle no longer as king of Anshan, but in a single passage as "King of Persia."<sup>5</sup>

Croesus, king of Lydia, was quick to recognize the danger of his new neighbor whose empire now touched the eastern bank of the Halys. He took steps to defend his kingdom. During the year 547 he made alliances with Amasis, king of Egypt;<sup>6</sup> and Nabonidus, king of Babylon.<sup>7</sup> From Sparta, he secured the promise of her fleet.<sup>8</sup> In the spring of 546, Croesus began an attack on Cyrus and advanced into Cappadocia,<sup>9</sup> while the other powers were still gathering their troops. But Cyrus anticipated them and defeated Croesus. In the autumn of 546, Sardis was taken and the Lydian kingdom became a province of Persia.<sup>10</sup> The fate of Croesus is clouded by many legends, some of which may contain reminiscences of actual facts. R. W. Rogers believes that Cyrus kept Croesus alive and possibly

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4. Herodotus, I. 130.

5. Cambridge Ancient History, IV, p. 8.

6. Herodotus I, Essay VIII, p. 28.

7. Ibid., p. 21.

8. Ibid., pp. 69-70.

9. Ibid., p. 72.

10. Ibid., pp. 73-85.

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4. Herodotus, I. 130.  
 5. Cambridge Ancient History, IV, p. 6.  
 6. Herodotus, I. 201, p. 12.  
 7. Ibid., p. 81.  
 8. Ibid., pp. 82-83.  
 9. Ibid., p. 84.  
 10. Ibid., pp. 85-86.

appointed him to the important city of Barene as his appanage, where he could keep a watchful eye on him.<sup>11</sup> With the overthrow of the kingdom of Lydia, the dominion of Cyrus was extended over nearly the whole interior of Asia Minor. During the next year or two, Cyrus continued to strengthen his grip on Lydia and to bring the coast of Asia Minor under his control.<sup>12</sup>

Why the war with Babylon, which had become inevitable, was delayed until 539, we do not know. Here, too, Cyrus in a single campaign destroyed a mighty state. The army of Nabonidus was defeated, and Babylon itself attempted no resistance.<sup>13</sup> No doubt part of Cyrus' success was due to the divisions within the empire which he was attacking. Nabonidus, though he reigned for 18 years, failed to maintain internal union. He was unpopular among a large section of his people.<sup>14</sup>

It is significant that Cyrus regarded his conquest of Babylonia as due to the favor of the great Babylonian god, Marduk, for on the Cyrus Cylinder it is said:

He (Marduk) sought out an upright prince, after his own heart, whom he took by his hand, Cyrus, king of the city Anshan ....Marduk, the great Lord, the guardian of his people, joyfully beheld his good

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11. Rogers, op. cit., p. 49.

12. Herodotus I, pp. 161-170.

13. Ibid., pp. 188-190.

14. Smith, Sidney, Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon, p. 87.



appointed him to the important city of Berea as his successor, there he could keep a watchful eye on him. 11 With the overthrow of the kingdom of Tyre, the foundation of Tyre was established over nearly the whole interior of Asia Minor. During the next year or two, Tyre continued to strengthen his city on Tyre and to bring the coast of Asia Minor under his control. 12

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11. Rogers, op. cit., p. 48.  
12. Herodotus I, pp. 161-170.  
13. Ibid., pp. 188-190.  
14. Smith, Ancient Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Empire and Dynasty of Babylon, p. 117.

deeds and his upright heart. To his own city Babylon his march he commanded.... like a comrade and helper he marched at his side....<sup>15</sup>

With the fall of Babylon, Cyrus now became the ruler over an empire stretching from the distant east to the Aegean Sea, and from Armenia to the south of Palestine. This was the greatest empire that the world had yet seen.

Cyrus' policy of ruling his new empire, both politically and religiously was in striking contrast to all world-rulers who had preceded him.<sup>16</sup> He did not attempt to continue the Assyrian and Babylonian methods of transporting conquered populations to distant parts of his empire.<sup>17</sup> Neither, did he try to impose his own religion on his new subjects. In

Babylon, he publically appeared as the devotee and servant of the religion of the land and encouraged the people to continue in their traditional worship.<sup>18</sup> In the year 537, Cyrus issued a decree that the temple of Jehovah in Jerusalem was to be rebuilt at the expense of his kingdom and the sacred vessels restored to it, which Nebuchadnezzar had removed to Babylon.<sup>19</sup> At this same time he gave permission to the Jews in Babylonia, who wished to return, to go back to

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15. Oesterley, The History of Israel, Vol. II, p. 64.

16. Cylinder of Cyrus 24, 25, 32, 35; cf. Xenophon, Cyropaedia, VIII, p. 23.

17. Ibid., I, 30ff.

18. Nabonidus Chronicle, III, 17, 18, 21, 22.

19. Ezra 6:3-5.

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19. *History of Cyrus*, Vol. II, p. 64.



Palestine. As to just how many returned, it is hard to determine. The number, forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty, given as the total number in Ezra and Nehemiah, can not be reconciled with the detailed lists which precede the summary.

Cyrus reigned in Babylon from 538-529. During this time, the ordinary business records of transactions bore his name, as was the case of the native kings. During his first years of rule in Babylon, he appointed his son, Cambyses, as king of Babylon. He adopted for himself the title, "King of Babylon and King of the lands," signifying thereby his wide extended rule.

Cyrus died fighting. The details of his death and the name of the peoples with whom he was fighting is not known definitely. There are various accounts. The one given us by Herodotus, was but one of several known.<sup>20</sup> It is generally believed that he was fighting in the eastern confines of his empire; that his opponents were the Massagetae, who inhabited the extensive plain to the east of the Caspian Sea.<sup>21</sup> Cyrus was buried in a beautiful tomb erected for him upon the great plain of Pasargadae.

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20. Herodotus, I. 201-214.

21. Ibid., I, pp. 204, 207, 214.

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<sup>20</sup> Herodotus, I. 201-212.  
<sup>21</sup> Ibid., I. pp. 204, 207, 212.

## 2. CAMBYSES

On the death of Cyrus in the spring of 528, the rule passed lawfully to the oldest son, Cambyses, who was born in the purple.<sup>22</sup> The opening years of his reign (529-526), like the closing years of Cyrus', were involved in considerable obscurity. The one great achievement during his reign was the conquest of Egypt in 525.<sup>23</sup> Cambyses himself left no record which has yet been found. Outside of one inscription, written in the reign of Darius, by an Egyptian, Uzahor-resenet, the history of this king and of his conquest of Egypt must be constructed almost entirely from Greek sources, especially, from Herodotus, who drew mainly on a Persian and an Egyptian source, both hostile to the king.<sup>24</sup>

At the very beginning of his reign, there were serious revolts and his own brother, Smerdis, was associated with them. Just how extensive they were, we do not know, but Cambyses put an end to them by the murder of his brother, but concealed his death. This fact comes to us from Darius, who records it thus:

He, who was named Cambyses, the son  
of Cyrus, one of our race, was king before  
me. That Cambyses had a brother, Smerdis

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22. Herodotus II, p. 1.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., II, p. 1; III, pp. 1-44, 61-66, IV, pp. 165, 166.



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22. Herodotus II, c. 1.  
23. Ibid.  
24. Ibid., II, p. 1; III, pp. 1-4; 41-42, IV, pp. 122-123.

by name, of the same mother and father as Cambyses. Afterwards Cambyses slew this Smerdis. When Cambyses slew Smerdis it was not known unto the people that Smerdis was slain.<sup>25</sup>

It seems reasonable to find a cause for the murder, not in the fable of Herodotus, which assumes that Smerdis had accompanied Cambyses to Egypt, but in the suspicions of Cambyses of the loyalty of his brother and of a desire to have him out of the way before undertaking the conquest of Egypt.

Cyrus, thus far, had been too much occupied with other pressing wars to pay very much attention to Egypt. The subjection of Egypt was, however, necessary if the Persian empire was to be safe on its western border. Egypt for a long time had considered Syria and Palestine as coming within its sphere of influence, if not actually incorporated within the Egyptian empire. The time had now come when some definite action needed to be taken.

Within four years after Cambyses' accession, he was ready to invade Egypt. At this time, the aged man, Amasis, was king.<sup>26</sup> Fate seemed to play into his hands. For some unknown reason, Phanes of Halicarnassus, one of the Greek mercenaries in the employment of Amasis, quarrelled with his master, deserted

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25. King and Thompson, The Sculptures and Transcriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun, pp. 6, 7; also note Herodotus, III, p. 30; Cyropaedia, VIII. p. 8.

26. Herodotus II, pp. 172-177.

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25. King and Thomson, *The Scythians and Persians*  
 of Ixion the Great on the Rock of Babylon, pp. 4, 7, 113.  
 Note Herodotus, III, 100; Diodorus, VIII, 10.  
 26. Herodotus II, pp. 112-113.



his service, and offered his valuable help to Cambyses.<sup>27</sup> He helped Cambyses to come into communication with the Sheikh of the wandering tribes of the desert. He arranged to station relays of camels with water along the route of march across the dangerous desert.

As Cambyses approached Pelusium, he learned that Amasis had not lived to meet his attack. His son had ascended the tottering throne under the title, Psammeticus III. He gathered an army and resisted Cambyses at Pelusium.<sup>28</sup> The Egyptians were inferior in numbers and at last gave way; Psammeticus fled to Memphis. Cambyses advanced to Memphis. The city held out for some time but was eventually captured and Cambyses assumed the title of king of Egypt.<sup>29</sup> Cambyses had expected to let Psammeticus live, as Cyrus had done with Croesus, and possibly make him governor of Egypt under suitable pledges of loyalty. Psammeticus was discovered in an attempt to raise a rebellion and he was ordered killed.<sup>30</sup>

Cambyses then did all within his power to make himself an Egyptian. He ascended the throne of the Pharaohs as a legitimate sovereign. He adopted their double cartouche, the royal costume, and laid official claim to be a son of the

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27. Rogers, op. cit., p. 75.

28. Herodotus, III, pp. 4-9.

29. Ibid., pp. 10, 13-15.

30. Ibid., p. 15.

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27. Herodotus, iv. 211, p. 75.  
28. Herodotus, iii. 2-3.  
29. Ibid., iv. 12-13.  
30. Ibid., v. 15.

sun-god Rē.<sup>31</sup> He even embraced the religious faith and usage of the land and had himself instructed in its mysteries and customs. All of these moves of Cambyses in the interest of Egyptian religion were quite like the deeds of his father, Cyrus, in dealing with the Babylonians. As to just what motive we can ascribe to these acts, whether as acts of policy or of religious tolerance, they certainly were profoundly wise for that day and those conditions.

Cambyses' next move was to undertake the conquest of Africa, in so far as it was then known. He no doubt, had his eyes on Carthage. He dispatched a force of fifty thousand men by land to do the job. The expedition perished somewhere in the desert and was never heard of again.<sup>32</sup>

From Egypt, Cambyses attempted the conquest of Ethiopia, i.e. the kingdom of Napata and Neroe, the modern Nubia.<sup>33</sup> But his army was not able to cross the desert and after heavy losses he was forced to return. He did achieve a measure of success, though he failed in the complete subjection of Ethiopia which would have involved the capture of Neroe. He did secure authority over Elephantine and the Persians maintained a strong garrison there for more than a century. It seems that he established some degree of Persian authority

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31. Rogers, op. cit., p. 79.

32. Herodotus, III, pp. 17, 25, 26.

33. Ibid., pp. 20, 25.



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31. Herodotus, op. cit., p. 17.  
 32. Herodotus, III, p. 17, 18, 19.  
 33. Ibid., pp. 20, 21.

extending from Elephantine over northern Ethiopia, i.e. the country immediately to the south of Elephantine.

Herodotus tells us that Cambyses had been afflicted with epilepsy from his youth. Now, due to his present failure, it played upon his already unstable mind and he became a maniac.<sup>34</sup> In such a mental state he slew the sacred Apis bull and probably committed other acts scarcely less repellent to Egyptian feeling.

If these actions, as we have them related, had some measure of truth in them, they certainly were quite contrary to the practice followed by Cambyses in his earlier attempts to win Egyptian loyalty to his person as a legitimate Pharaoh. There seems to be some degree of truth in the tales told, especially, concerning the destruction of Egyptian temples. Not only hostile Egyptian tradition attributed the destruction of Egyptian temples to Cambyses, but also, the tradition current a century later among the Jews of Elephantine, tells us that, "when Cambyses came into Egypt....the temples of the gods of the Egyptians were all of them overthrown, while the Jewish temple at Elephantine was left unharmed."<sup>35</sup>

It is interesting to note that apart from the violation of the corpse of Amasis, even, in Herodotus, the charges of

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34. Herodotus, III. p. 33.

35. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, p. 30, l. 30 sq.

extending from Alexandria over northern Palestine, i.e. the country immediately to the south of Alexandria. Herodotus tells us that Cambyzes had been afflicted with epilepsy from his youth. Now, due to his present failure, it played upon his already unstable mind and he became a madman. In such a mental state he slew the sacred Apis bull and probably committed other acts scarcely less repulsive to Egyptian feeling.

If these actions, as we have them related, had none measure of truth in them, they certainly were quite contrary to the practice followed by Cambyzes in his earlier attempts to win Egyptian loyalty to his person as a legitimate Pharaoh. There seems to be some degree of truth in the tales told.

Especially, concerning the destruction of Egyptian temples. Not only hostile Egyptian tradition attributed the destruction of Egyptian temples to Cambyzes, but also, the tradition

current a century later among the Jews of Elephantine, tells us that "when Cambyzes came into Egypt.... The temples of the gods of the Egyptians were all of them overthrown, while the Jewish temple at Elephantine was left unharmed."<sup>32</sup>

It is interesting to note that apart from the violation of the corpse of Amasis, even, in Herodotus, the charges of

<sup>32</sup> Herodotus, III. p. 33.  
<sup>33</sup> Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, p. 30, l. 30 sq.



sacrilege all are related to what was done by Cambyses after his return from Ethiopia. Because of this, some attribute Cambyses' later conduct to a mental breakdown.

Cambyses was on his Egyptian campaign about three years. He started homeward in the spring of 522. Before he reached Persia, a revolt broke out headed by Magian Gaumata, who impersonated the king's murdered brother, Bardiya (Smerdis), and became king. There is some mystery about the death of Cambyses. The Behistun Inscription tells us that he died by his own hand.<sup>36</sup> Herodotus informs us that Cambyses' death resulted from a wound accidentally self-inflicted when mounting his horse.<sup>37</sup> Regardless of how he met his death, one fact remains, that, before he left Egypt, he had been able to establish Persian rule in Egypt with the same thoroughness with which he had achieved the initial conquest of the country. The Egyptians did not join in the revolts against the Persian rule which broke out at the end of Cambyses' reign, and took Darius many months to quell. Before Cambyses left Egypt, he appointed Aryandes as Persian governor.<sup>38</sup> He was able to maintain his position, unchallenged by the native population, until Darius deprived him of his office and life, on the

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36. King and Thompson, op. cit., p. 9.

37. Herodotus, III, pp. 64, 66.

38. Rogers, op. cit., p. 84.

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36. King and Thompson, op. cit., p. 9.  
 37. Herodotus, III, pp. 64, 65.  
 38. Herodotus, op. cit., p. 84.

suspicion of arrogating to himself royal prerogatives. It was not until 485, more than thirty years after the death of Cambyses, that an Egyptian revolt broke out which led to the enthronement of a native chief. This, however, was for a brief period of time.

### 3. DARIUS I

While Cambyses was still in Egypt, a revolt broke out in Persia headed by Magian Gaumata, who impersonated the king's murdered brother Bardiya (Smerdis), and became king. The unpopularity of Cambyses is seen by the fact that Gaumata's success was immediate. He received immediate support from Persia, Media, and other provinces but by so doing the Persians "believed that they were transferring their allegiance from Cambyses, who had forfeited his claim to the affection with which they had regarded his father, by his despotic government, to another son of Cyrus."<sup>39</sup>

The real grip which this pretender gained over the people is seen by what Darius himself says:

There is no man, Persian or Median or one of our family, who could deprive Gaumata of the kingdom; the people feared him for his tyranny....no one dared to say anything about Gaumata until I came. The inscription goes on: I, with a few men, slew Gaumata

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39. Cambridge Ancient History, IV, p. 174.



suggestion of attempting to himself royal prerogatives. It was not until 1867, more than thirty years after the death of Gamphay, that an Egyptian revolt broke out which led to the overthrow of a native chief. This, however, was far a distant period of time.

### 3. DARWIN I

While Gamphay was still in Egypt, a revolt broke out in Persia headed by Bakht Samrat, who represented the king's mother and brother Bahadur (Zardis), and became king. The popularity of Gamphay is seen by the fact that Samrat's success was immediate. He received immediate support from Persia, Media, and other provinces but by so doing the Persians believed that they were transferring their allegiance from Gamphay, who had forfeited his claim to the election with which they had crowned his father, by his despotism to another son of Cyrus.<sup>39</sup>

The real grip which this pretender gained over the people is seen by what Darwin himself says:

There is no man, Persian or Median or one of our family, who could deprive Samrat of the kingdom; the people feared him for his tyranny....no one dared to say anything about Samrat until I came. The inscription goes on: I, with a few men, slew Samrat.

39: Gamphay and his History, IV, p. 124.

the Magian, and what foremost men were his allies....in Media....I smote him....<sup>40</sup>

The man, who put down the rebellion and slew Gaumata, was made king. Darius had been well trained for his task. When he was 21 years of age,<sup>41</sup> he had been with Cyrus against the fierce mountaineers in the northeast and had seen service in war. He had accompanied Cambyses to Egypt, had held high rank in the army, and later became its chief. Darius had all the prestige, which blood could give him, and he was careful in his inscriptions to make mention of his relationship to the reigning house, which had made Persia great.

Darius' troubles did not end with the slaying of Gaumata and his elevation to the kingship. The empire was shaken with a series of revolts. The most serious of these outbreaks was the revolt in Babylonia, which had acknowledged the claims of Gaumata and after his death had made Nidintu-Bel king. He took the name Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus.<sup>42</sup> While Darius was engaged in reducing Babylon, rebellions began in Persia, Susiana, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, and Scythia.<sup>43</sup> With the details of how Darius succeeded in putting down these many revolts, we are not here concerned. By 518, his position as monarch of the whole empire was secure and his subjects

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40. King and Thompson, op. cit., p. 10ff.

41. Herodotus, I, p. 209.

42. Smith, Sidney, op. cit., p. 106; see further King and Thompson, op. cit., p. 170 ff.

43. Rogers, op. cit., p. 92.

the king, and what foremost men were his allies.... I wrote him....<sup>40</sup>

The man, who put down the rebellion and new dynasty, was made king. Davies had been well trained for his task. When he was 21 years of age,<sup>41</sup> he had been with Cyrus against the three mountains in the northeast and had seen service in war. He had accompanied Cambyses to Egypt, had held high rank in the army, and later became its chief. Davies had all the prestige, which blood could give him, and he was careful in his investigations to make mention of his relationship to the reigning house, which had made Persia great.

Darius' troubles did not end with the slaying of Gaumata and his elevation to the kingship. The empire was shaken with a series of revolts. The most serious of these outbreaks was the revolt in Babylon, which had acknowledged the claims of Gaumata and after his death had made Bistrita-Bal King. He took the name Nabonidus, the son of Nabonassar.<sup>42</sup> While Darius was engaged in reducing Babylon, rebellions began in Persia, Susiana, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Arabia, and Scythia.<sup>43</sup> With the details of how Darius succeeded in putting down these many revolts, we are not here concerned. By 518, his position as monarch of the whole empire was secure and his subjects

40. King and Thompson, op. cit., p. 1071.  
 41. Herodotus, I, p. 209.  
 42. Diodorus Siculus, op. cit., p. 106; see further King and Thompson, op. cit., p. 1071.  
 43. Diodorus, op. cit., p. 106.



were aware that a monarch had arisen whom it was dangerous to defy.

Darius now desired that the men of his day, as well as posterity, should be able to read the story of his campaigns. Hence, he chose a mountainside on which to record his great deeds in imperishable stone. He selected the last peak of a long narrow range which skirts the plain of Karmanshah on the east. R. W. Rogers gives us a fine description of this inscription in these words:

There in front of the mountain and at its base lies the wretched caravan road traversed for centuries by caravans peaceful or warlike, and by the side of the road there is a spring of water, and there every company halts for refreshment on the weary way.... There beneath the symbolic figure of his god Ahuramazda stands Darius, his foot resting on the prostrate form of the miserable Gaumata, the false Bardiya or Smerdis, while his uplifted hand seems to call attention and demand that all and several should look and then read. Behind Gaumata prostrate, nine men in file march to face the king, their arms bound upon their backs, and cords about their necks. They are the pretenders and rebels whom he has defeated and put to death, Atrina, Nidintu-Bel, Fravartish, Martiya, Citrantakhma, Vahyazdata, Arakha, Frada, Skunkha. Did ever a king so array his defeated enemies and set them up for a gazing-stock in stone, as some of them had been displayed maimed while yet alive? Beneath the figures in long ranks stand the cuneiform inscriptions which record the great king's achievements. In three languages are they written, in Persian, the official language of the kingdom; in Susian, the language of the great province of Elam, a part of which bore the name of Anshan, and gave Cyrus title, and



may be said to have been the motherland of a world-wide empire; and in the Babylonian tongue, speech of the great culture land whose greatness Hammurapi began and ages fostered. It is indeed a noble and impressive presentation of a king's claim to remembrance.<sup>44</sup>

After the many revolts had been put down, Darius was now free to give heed to provinces, which had not risen in rebellion, but were taking rather a free hand in their own administration and were in need of discipline. The first one of these was Egypt. It had been left in charge of Aryandes. He had not usurped the title of king, but he had more than once acted as an independent ruler. Darius had him executed<sup>45</sup> and then he set himself to win the province to personal loyalty to himself. He used the old policy which Cyrus had used and which Cambyses during the first of his reign had employed, that of honoring the gods and attending to the religious scruples of the people. The policies of Darius were successful and the Egyptians placidly accepted his rule.<sup>46</sup>

In the second year of the reign of Darius, the foundation of the temple at Jerusalem was laid, due largely to the efforts of the two prophets Haggai and Zechariah in arousing a new religious enthusiasm. It was completed in his sixth year.<sup>47</sup> As the work got under way, the Persian governor, by the name

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44. Rogers, op. cit., p. 96.

45. The whole story is in Herodotus IV, 200ff.

46. Rogers, op. cit., p. 99.

47. Ezra, 6:15.





of Tattenai, decided to investigate what was going on, so he made a visit to Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup> He was ready to defend his royal master's kingdom and asked: "who gave you a decree to build this house, and to finish this wall?"<sup>49</sup> The Jews made appeal to the decree of Cyrus and requested that the archives be searched for it.<sup>50</sup> The search was successful; Darius granted permission to proceed with the work and promised aid from the royal revenues.<sup>51</sup> Little did Darius realize, that he was fostering the restoration of the old and the beginning of a new Judaism.

The real greatness of Darius centered largely in his genius for organization. The system of government which was being used when Darius came to power had come down from the time of Tiglathpileser III with little change. In days gone by, it had worked quite successfully in smaller kingdoms but with the creation of the new Persian empire the system broke down. A new system must be discovered and introduced. Darius' task was the reorganization of the provincial governments, their extension, and the provision of new forms of administration. There needed to be set up a system of checks and balances which would prevent the concentration, in the hands of some provincial governor, of power which might ultimately

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48. Ezra 5:3.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., 5:6.

51. Ibid., 6:7ff.

of Tarsus, decided to investigate what was going on, so he made a visit to Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup> He was ready to defend his royal master's kingdom and asked: "Am I here for a decision to build this house, and to finish this wall?"<sup>49</sup> The Jews made appeal to the decree of Cyrus and requested that the archives be searched for it.<sup>50</sup> The search was successful; Cyrus granted permission to proceed with the work and promised aid from the royal revenues.<sup>51</sup> Little by little things realized that he was restoring the restoration of the old and the beginning of a new Judaism.

The real greatness of Darius centered largely in his genius for organization. The system of government which was being used when Darius came to power had come down from the time of Sargonid III with little change. In Darius' time it had worked quite successfully in smaller kingdoms but with the extension of the new Persian empire the system broke down. A new system must be discovered and introduced. Darius' task was the reorganization of the provincial government, their extension, and the revision of new forms of administration. There needed to be set up a system of control and balances which would prevent the concentration, in the hands of some provincial governor, of power which might ultimately

48. Date 5:5.  
49. 18:10.  
50. 18:15. 5:6.  
51. 18:16. 5:17.



tempt him to seek independence of the empire. Cyrus had made an attempt in this direction for he had provided Media, Babylon, Lydia, and perhaps Bactria and Parthia, with vice-roys. These viceroys were to rule in strict subservience to himself, yet having sufficient power of independent action to meet a sudden emergency.<sup>52</sup> This system had failed, hence Darius worked out a new system.

In the new system the king was the head, and nominally his authority was not only supreme but absolute.<sup>53</sup> The king was expected, on all important occasions, to consult the body of Persian nobles.<sup>54</sup> It was rather important to secure their loyalty in times of strain. This could be more easily done if they had been consulted and their advice accepted. On matters of less importance, the seven counsellors might be consulted.<sup>55</sup> On points of law, there were the seven judges to be taken into consideration.<sup>56</sup> These judges were appointed for life and they had great and growing power of influence.

Beneath the king in administrative influence were the satraps, whose dominion was restricted each to his own satrapy. The number of these varied, being at one time only twenty, at another twenty-three, and again twenty-four, and

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52. Rogers, op. cit., p. 104.

53. A discussion of the Persian System, Administration and Government given in Herodotus, III, Essay III.

54. Herodotus VII. 8.

55. Ezra 7:14.

56. Herodotus, III, 89-94.

tempt him to seek independence of the empire. Cyrus had made an attempt in this direction but he had failed badly. Babylon, Media, and perhaps Persia and Lydia, with other states, were to rule in strict subordination to him. These states were to have no independent action to themselves, but having sufficient power of independent action to meet a sudden emergency.<sup>52</sup> This system had failed, because Persia wanted out a new system.

In the new system the king was the head, and naturally his authority was not only supreme but absolute.<sup>53</sup> The king was expected, on all important occasions, to consult the body of Persian nobles.<sup>54</sup> It was rather important to secure their loyalty in times of stress. This could be more easily done if they had been consulted and their advice heeded. On matters of less importance, the seven counselors might be consulted.<sup>55</sup> On points of law, there were the seven judges to be taken into consideration.<sup>56</sup> These judges were appointed for life and they had great and growing power of influence. Beneath the king in administrative influence were the

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52. Herodotus, III, 102.  
53. A discussion of the Persian system, administration and government given in Herodotus, III, 102-111.  
54. Herodotus, VII, 10.  
55. Same, VII, 10.  
56. Herodotus, III, 92-94.

finally twenty-nine. Herodotus has preserved us a very valuable list of 20 satrapies.<sup>57</sup> Of particular interest to us was the fifth satrapy which bore no name but was comprised of Phoenicia, Palestine, and the land of Cyprus; the sixth, comprised Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, and Barca; and the ninth, comprising Babylon and all Assyria.

Each satrapy was taxed so many talents and the total revenue from the twenty satrapies amounted to about fourteen thousand five hundred sixty talents, to which were added large gifts from many portions of the empire.<sup>58</sup> Persia proper was free from all direct taxation, but was expected to give gifts when the king made royal visitations. The king's army received its rations from the provinces over and above the payment of the taxes. Four months out of the year, Babylon had to supply the food for the army.<sup>59</sup> During the other eight months the rest of the empire provided the food. Besides this, each province had to support the satraps and the armies which were quartered upon them.

The position and power of the satrap was that of a civil governor. He had no soldiers under him for the military organization was entirely separate. This was done in order

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57. Herodotus, III, pp. 89-94.

58. Rogers, op. cit., p. 109.

59. Herodotus, I, p. 192.



Finally twenty-nine. Herodotus had preserved as a very valuable list of 20 satrapies.<sup>57</sup> Of particular interest to us was the fifth satrapy which bore no name but was comprised of Phoenicia, Lebanon, and the land of Cyprus; the sixth, occupied Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, and Barca; and the ninth, comprising Babylon and all Assyria.

Each satrapy was taxed no more talents and the total revenue from the twenty satrapies amounted to about fourteen thousand two hundred sixty talents, to which were added large gifts from many portions of the empire.<sup>58</sup> Persia proper was free from all direct taxation, but was expected to give gifts when the king made royal visitations. The king's army received its rations from the provinces over and above the payment of the taxes. Four tenths out of the year, Babylon had to supply the food for the army.<sup>59</sup> During the other eight months the rest of the empire provided the food. Besides this, each province had to support the satraps and the armies which were quartered upon them.

The position and power of the satrap was that of a civil governor. He had no soldiers under him for the military organization was entirely separate. This was done in order

57. Herodotus, III, pp. 38-39.  
58. Ibid., pp. 101, 102.  
59. Herodotus, I, p. 192.

to make a revolt of a satrap almost impossible. The military chief of a satrapy took his orders direct from the king and was quite independent of the satrap himself.<sup>60</sup>

Darius was never able to equal Cyrus or Cambyses as a soldier. He was not able to conceive or produce an army fit to cope with dominions now become so vast. He could develop a fine civil organization but when it came to military organization he did not excel.

To make more sure and rapid the control of the empire Darius paid a great deal of attention to the roads, which he greatly extended and much improved. He developed a plan whereby the roads were divided into post-routes with horsemen stationed at regular intervals, so that any message from king to satrap or satrap to king could be carried with utmost speed.<sup>61</sup>

In the year 512, Darius undertook a war against the Scythians. They had now become a dangerous menace to the empire. Before them lay Thrace, and if it came into their possession the Hellespont was not far away, and moving nomads would soon be sweeping down the coast of Asia Minor. Darius, with a great army crossed the Bosphorus, subjugated eastern Thrace, crossed the Danube, and advanced against the

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60. Rogers, op. cit. p. 110.

61. Herodotus, VIII, p. 98.

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Dr. Rogers, Jr., A. D. 112.  
 St. Petersburg, Vol. 1, p. 28.



Scythians. The expedition proved a failure. The details given by Herodotus are quite fantastical;<sup>62</sup> the account which Darius himself had given on a tablet, which was added to his great inscription in Behistun, was destroyed with the exception of a few words.

Darius' war with Greece does not directly concern us here and hence we shall but briefly view the outcome. About 501 the Ionian cities rose in revolt against Persian dominion.<sup>63</sup> The revolt was successfully put down and the final victory of the Persians was achieved in the naval battle at Lade and the taking of Miletus.<sup>64</sup> The support, which Athens and Eretria gave to the rebellious Ionians, made their punishment inevitable as soon as the rebellion had been put down. The first expedition, that of Mardonius, failed on the cliffs of Mt. Athos in 492. In 490, a new attempt was made but was defeated at Marathon by the Athenians under the leadership of Miltiades.<sup>65</sup> Before Darius had finished his preparation for a third expedition, an insurrection broke out in Egypt in 486. In the next year Darius<sup>66</sup> died, probably in October 485, after a reign of thirty-six years. Darius was buried in his tomb still to be seen at Naksh-i-Rustam.

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62. Herodotus, II, appendix 3.

63. Cambridge Ancient History, p. 215.

64. Ibid., p. 226.

65. Ibid., p. 227.

66. Rogers, op. cit., p. 138.

beginning. The expedition proved a failure. The details given by Herodotus are quite fanciful;<sup>52</sup> the account which Herodotus himself has given on a tablet, which was added to his great inscription in Babylon, was destroyed with the destruction of a few words.

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52. Herodotus, II, xxxviii & 53. Cambridge Ancient History, p. 215.  
54. Id., p. 225.  
55. Id., p. 227.  
56. Id., op. cit., p. 128.

#### 4. XERXES I

Xerxes I, son of Darius I and Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus the Great, was appointed successor to his father in preference to his eldest half-brother, who was born before Darius had become king.<sup>67</sup> Xerxes became king in 485 at the age of thirty five. Problems confronted him at once. Egypt was in rebellion and there could be no campaign against Greece, such as his father had purposed, until Egypt was reduced to subjection. The rebellion broke out in 486 before his father's death and was rapidly gaining momentum. The new king, as soon as possible, took command in person and set out for Egypt. We know nothing of this campaign except the fact, that it was successful in the restoration of Persian power, and that severe punishment was meted out for the revolt. Xerxes appointed his brother, Achaemenes, as satrap and "brought Egypt under a much heavier yoke than it had been before."<sup>68</sup> Xerxes was now free to deal with his next problem, that of Babylon.

A revolt had broken out in Babylon when one Shikushti had assumed the crown, with the full royal title of "King of Babylon, and of the lands."<sup>69</sup> The revolt was soon put down

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67. Herodotus, VII, p. 2.

68. Ibid., VII, p. 7.

69. Rogers, op. cit., p. 147.



# CHAPTER I

Amasis I, son of Saitis I and Isis, the daughter of  
Cyprius the Great, was appointed successor to his father in  
preference to his eldest half-brother, who was born before  
Saitis had become king. Amasis became king in 526 of the  
age of thirty-five. Problems confronted him at once. Egypt  
was in rebellion and there could be no campaign against  
Greece, such as his father had purposed, until Egypt was re-  
duced to subjection. The rebellion broke out in 526 before  
his father's death and was rapidly gaining momentum. The new  
king, as soon as possible, took command in person and set out  
for Egypt. We know nothing of this campaign except the fact  
that it was successful in the restoration of Amasian power,  
and that severe punishment was meted out for the revolt.  
Amasis appointed his brother, Apries, as satrap and  
"brought Egypt under a much heavier yoke than it had been be-  
fore."<sup>82</sup> Amasis was now free to deal with his next problem,  
that of Babylon.

A revolt had broken out in Babylon when one Smerdis had  
assumed the crown, with the full royal title of "King of  
Babylon, and of the lands."<sup>83</sup> The revolt was soon put down

82. Herodotus, VII, p. 127.  
83. Ibid., VII, p. 127.  
84. Herodotus, op. cit., p. 127.

and a new satrap was appointed. He was speedily slain and Xerxes appointed the dead man's son, Megabyzos, as successor. As punishment for this series of uprisings, Xerxes razed the great temple of Esagila and removed from it the statue of Marduk,<sup>70</sup> thus rendering meaningless the accession ceremony of taking the hand of Marduk.<sup>71</sup> He razed Babylon's remaining fortifications, abolished various nature customs, and bestowed upon Persians the estates of many prominent Babylonians. The name of Babylon was dropped from the royal title and henceforth Xerxes and his successors call themselves, "King of Persia and Media."<sup>72</sup>

Of the remainder of his reign, there is very little that has any bearing on the history of Judah. His war with Greece, which ended so disastrously for him at the battle of Salamis, the 28th of September 480, must have been watched with a good deal of interest by the Jews. The Jews were a subject race and the downfall of the Persians might open the way for them to regain their independence.

Of the last few years of the reign of Xerxes, little is known. He, seemingly, spent most of his time in idleness and sensuality at Susa. It is this period which supplies the background for the book of Esther.

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70. Herodotus I, p. 183.

71. Strabo, Geography XVI, I, p. 538, ed. Meineke.

72. Rogers, op. cit., 148.

and a new empire was appointed. He was greatly slain and  
 Herod appointed the dead man's son, Herodias, as successor.  
 As punishment for this series of murders, Herodias raised the  
 great temple of Baalbek and removed from it the statue of  
 Venus. This statue was brought to the occasion ceremony  
 of taking the land of Jordan. He raised Babylon's remain-  
 ing fortifications, abolished various minor customs, and  
 bestowed upon himself the surnames of many prominent  
 Babylonians. The name of Babylon was dropped from the royal  
 title and Herodotus Herodias and his successors call themselves  
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Of the last few years of the reign of Herodias, little is  
 known. He, accordingly, spent most of his time in Athens and  
 accordingly at Rome. It is this period which supplies the  
 background for the book of Esther.

18. Herodotus I, p. 188.  
 19. Strabo, Geography XVI, 1, p. 538, ed. Meineke.  
 20. Josephus, Ant. 12, 10.



Xerxes was murdered in the twenty-first year of his reign April 464 by a courtier, Artabanus. He usurped the throne for seven months, and was then himself murdered by Artaxerxes (Longimanus) the third son of Xerxes.

#### 5. ARTAXERXES I

Artaxerxes came to the throne to rule over an empire exhausted with long struggles against Greece and wearied by internal strife in the royal family. What the empire needed, was a period of peace and the direction of a strong king, who could energize the whole scheme of government. But no such man had now come to rule. Artaxerxes was soon presented with a familiar problem to the rulers of Persia--rebellion against the central authority. The first rebellion was on the part of the king's own brother, Hystaspes, who was the satrap of Bactria. Hystaspes thought his brother was too weak to attempt his repression and took a chance at gaining independence. He was mistaken, in two bloody battles in the year 462 he was defeated, and the king's authority in Bactria was re-established.<sup>73</sup>

The Egyptian revolt under the leadership of Inaros proved to be more dangerous than that of Bactria. The rebellion was finally put down by Megabyzos, about 455, only after a long

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73. Rogers, op. cit., p. 173.

Artemus was murdered in the twenty-first year of his reign (484 B.C.) by a scoundrel, Artemus. He was buried in the tomb of his father, and was then himself buried by Artemus (Isotimachus) the third son of Artemus.

## 2. ARTEMUS

Artemus came to the throne to rule over an empire exhausted with long struggles against Greece and wasted by internal strife in the royal family. What the empire needed was a period of peace and the direction of a strong king, who could organize the whole system of government. But no such man had now come to rule. Artemus was soon presented with a familiar problem to the rulers of Persia--rebellion against the central authority. The first rebellion was on the part of the king's own brother, Hyattages, who was the ruler of Media. Hyattages thought his brother was too weak to attempt his restoration and took a chance at gaining independence. He was mistaken, in two bloody battles in the year 485 he was defeated, and the king's authority in Media was re-established.

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The Egyptian revolt under the leadership of Inaros proved to be more dangerous than that of Media. The rebellion was finally put down by Megasthenes, about 482, only after a long

struggle against the Egyptians and allied Greeks.<sup>74</sup> Persia was again in complete control of Egypt. During the reign of Artaxerxes I, Herodotus visited Egypt as far as Elephantine.<sup>75</sup> In his writings, he pictured for us a well governed land which had fully accepted the mild and gentle, though strong rule of Artaxerxes.

The Jews, during the reign of Artaxerxes, had reason to feel kindly disposed towards him, for his attitude was that of friendliness. How far such favor, which was also enjoyed by the colony at Elephantine, was influenced by merely political consideration, it is difficult to say. At any rate the Jewish religion was definitely established and sanctioned by law in Jerusalem. A firman was granted by the king to the Babylonian priest, Ezra in his seventh year, 457.<sup>76</sup> In the twentieth year of his reign, 444, he appointed his cup-bearer, Nehemiah, as governor of Judah.<sup>77</sup> Evidence has been brought forth in recent years which questions the exact date when these men came to Jerusalem. It is now believed, that Nehemiah came first to Palestine in 444, and that Ezra came nearly a century later, in 397.<sup>78</sup>

In 448, the war with Athens was terminated by the treaty concluded by Callias.<sup>79</sup> According to the terms of this treaty,

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74. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 63.

75. On Herodotus and his visit to Egypt his second book Euterpe is the original witness.

76. Ezra, 7:7-8.

77. Nehemiah, 2:1.

78. Oesterley, op. cit. pp. 112ff.

79. Herodotus VII, p. 131.





the Athenians were to leave Cyprus and Egypt to the Persians. Persia, on the other hand, promised not to use Cyprus and Egypt against the Greek cities on the Asiatic coast, which had gained their liberty.

In 424 Artaxerxes died ending a long reign which, on the whole, was peaceful. At times, he was somewhat under the baneful influence of his mother, Amestris, and his sister and wife, Amytis.<sup>80</sup> During the earlier part of his reign, he lived at Susa. Later he transferred his residence to Babylon when fire made him homeless. From then on, he seemed to prefer to live in Babylon. He built a palace and there resided for the remainder of his days among his Babylonian wives. In his reference to this palace, we have the only long inscription of his, which still remains. At Persepolis, in badly mutilated form and in the Babylonian language, are these haughty words:

The only one, (among many rulers) am I (Artaxerxes, the great king, king) of kings, king of countries (of all tongues), king (of the great wide) earth, (son of) Xerxes, (the king, son of Darius the king), the Achaemenian. Artaxerxes (the great king, says): under the protection (of Ahuramazda have I) built for my self this house, (which king Xerxes) my father had built. May (Ahuramazda with the gods) protect me and my rulership (and what I have built).<sup>81</sup>

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80. Rogers, op. cit., p. 191.

81. Ibid., p. 192.

the Athenians were to leave Cyprus and Egypt to the Persians.  
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 engraved form and in the Babylonian language, are these

lengthy words:

The only one, (among many rulers) as  
 I (Artaxerxes, the great king, king of  
 kings, king of countries (of all countries),  
 who (of the great world) earth (and all)  
 (the king, son of Darius the king),  
 the accomplished, Artaxerxes (the great  
 king, who) when the occasion let  
 (Artaxerxes have I) built for my self this  
 house, (which mine (Larke) my father had  
 built. My (Artaxerxes) with the gods)  
 protect me and my posterity (and what I  
 have built).<sup>81</sup>

80. Herodotus, op. cit., p. 181.  
 81. 1833, p. 182.



Beside this fragment, there remains with the name of Artaxerxes only three vases, one containing the simple legend, "Artaxerxes the great king."<sup>82</sup> This is all that forty-one years of absolute rule has been able to bequeath us.

#### 6. XERXES II

Immediately on the death of Artaxerxes I, his oldest son and lawful heir succeeded to the throne under the title of Xerxes II. He reigned only a few months, when he was murdered by his half-brother Sogdianus.<sup>83</sup> He, in turn, reigned but a short time when he was defeated by another half-brother, Nothus, who put him to death. The Babylonian Chronology did not recognize Xerxes II and Sogdianus as kings, and seemingly added the duration of their reigns to that of Artaxerxes.

#### 7. DARIUS II

Nothus took the crown very early in 423 as Darius II. His reign was ignoble. He was dominated by his eunuchs and particularly by his cruel step-sister and spouse, Parysatis.<sup>84</sup> Rebellions were constantly breaking out among his satraps, all of which were crushed except that of Amyrtaeus, Satrap of Egypt, who made himself independent in 414. It was because of craft of Tissaphernes, Satrap of Asia Minor, and of his

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<sup>82</sup>. Rogers, op. cit., p. 192.

<sup>83</sup>. Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>84</sup>. Ibid., p. 194.

Beside this fragment, there remains with the name of  
 Atlixes only three verses, one constituting the single legend.  
 "Atlixes the great king." <sup>82</sup> This is all that forty-one  
 years of absolute rule has been able to bequeath us.

#### 4. LIXES II

Immediately on the death of Atlixes I, his eldest son  
 and lawful heir succeeded to the throne under the title of  
 Lixes II. He reigned only a few months, when he was murdered  
 by his half-brother Xobixes. <sup>83</sup> He, in turn, reigned but a  
 short time when he was collected by another half-brother,  
 Xobixes, who put him to death. The Babylonian Chronology did  
 not recognize Lixes II and Xobixes as kings, and accordingly  
 added the duration of their reigns to that of Atlixes.

#### 5. LIXES III

Xobixes took the crown very early in 423 as Lixes III.  
 His reign was ignominious. He was dominated by his enemies and  
 particularly by his uncle Atlixes and Xobixes. <sup>84</sup>  
 rebellions were constantly breaking out among his subjects, all  
 of which were crushed except that of Atlixes, Lixes III  
 himself, who was finally independent in 411. It was because of  
 revolt of Atlixes, Lixes III, and of his

<sup>82</sup> Rogers, op. cit., p. 102.  
<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 103.  
<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

successor, Cyrus the Younger, son of the King, that the Persians exercised so great an influence over the affairs of Greece in the last years of the Peloponnesian War.

From the reign of Artaxerxes I and Darius II, there are hundreds of cuneiform tablets relating to the business affairs of Murashu Sons in Nippur, which throw light on the condition of the Jews in Babylonia.<sup>85</sup> Many of them were prosperous agriculturists, others held official posts, some were engaged in trade. We can understand from this glimpse of them why many were able to send contributions to their so much poorer brethren in Judaea, such as that of which we hear as early as the time of the re-building of the Temple.<sup>86</sup>

The reign of Darius II had very little direct bearing upon the history of the Jewish people except for what was taking place in Elephantine to which reference has already been made.

#### 8. ARTAXERXES II

On the death of Darius II in the spring of 404 Arsikas, the eldest son, secured the succession and took the name of Artaxerxes II. Parysatis had hoped to secure the throne for Cyrus, her favorite son, but failed. Cyrus feigned obedience

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85. Lods, The Prophets and the Rise of Judaism, p. 195.

86. Zechariah 6:9ff.



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85. Judea, The People and the Land of Judaea, p. 122.  
 86. Isaiah 45:13.

to the new king and was present at the crowning, accompanied by his Greek soldiers. Then it was, that Tissaphernes layed before the king reasons for believing that Cyrus intended to murder him at the first opportunity.<sup>87</sup> Whether it was true cannot be determined, but as a result Cyrus was imprisoned. Through the efforts of Parysatis, his life was saved and he was returned to his satrapy. Now enraged and humiliated he prepared to meet his brother in an armed conflict.

The reign of Artaxerxes II, as well as the remaining kings of Persia, offers very little that bears directly on the history of the Jews. His reign was filled with war, rebellion, and internal distress. Early in his reign we have the revolt of Cyrus, who was secretly favored by Parysatis and by Sparta. Cyrus was finally defeated and killed at the battle of Cunaxa (401), which is described for us by Xenophon.<sup>88</sup>

The Egyptian campaign of Artaxerxes, during the years 385-383, failed to subdue the country, and the same was the case with the second attempt, in 374. In 361, the Egyptians conquered the southern coast of Syria but this triumph was of short duration.<sup>89</sup>

It was Artaxerxes' great aim to hold in his grasp and to transfer to his heirs, unimpaired, the great empire which

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87. Rogers, op. cit., p. 202.

88. Xenophon, Anabasis, pp 165-195.

89. Cambridge Ancient History, VI, p. 5.

to the new king and was present at the crowning, accompanied by his Greek relatives. Then it was, that Ptolemy intended to murder him at the first opportunity.<sup>87</sup> Whether it was this cannot be determined, but as a result Cyrus was imprisoned. Through the efforts of Heracleides, his life was saved and he was returned to his captivity. Now enraged and humiliated he prepared to meet his brother in an armed conflict.

The reign of Antiochus II, as well as the remaining kings of Syria, offers very little that bears directly on the history of the Jews. His reign was filled with war, rebellion, and internal distress. Early in his reign we have the revolt of Cyrus, who was secretly favored by Antiochus and by Sparte. Cyrus was finally defeated and killed at the battle of Canax (140), which is described for us by Josephus.<sup>88</sup>

The Egyptian campaign of Antiochus, during the years 388-385, failed to subdue the country, and the same was the case with the second attempt, in 374. In 361, the Egyptians conquered the northern coast of Syria but this triumph was of short duration.<sup>89</sup>

It was Antiochus, great aim to hold in his grasp and to transfer to his heirs, unopposed, the great empire which

87. Josephus, op. cit., p. 103.  
88. Josephus, Antiquities, pp. 103-105.  
89. Cassiodorus, Antiquities, VI, p. 3.



his forebears had won. It was largely for this reason he made all his wars, in Asia Minor, in Egypt and on every border. His efforts were not altogether in vain. To be sure Egypt was hopelessly lost but he was able to retain practically the whole of the territories and provinces of Asia Minor.

During Artaxerxes' reign an important change took place in the Persian religion.

Berossus (in Clemens Alex. Protrept I. 5. 65) tells us that the Persians knew of no images of the gods until Artaxerxes II erected images of Anaitis in Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, Bactria, Damascus, and Sardis. This statement is proved correct by the inscriptions; all the former kings name only Auramazda (Ahuramazda), but Artaxerxes II in his building inscription from Susa and Ecbatana invokes Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra.<sup>90</sup>

Until this time, the gods, Anahita and Mithra, belonged to the old popular religion of the Iranians and had been rejected by the true Zoroastrians. Now, they were introduced into the official Zoroastrian religion.<sup>91</sup> Little did Artaxerxes realize the wide influence which he had thus set in motion. Mithraism was to have an amazing influence in the world as it swept westward. In Rome, especially, it entered into a contest with Christianity. It lasted until the third century of the Christian era.

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90. Encyclopaedia Britannica, II, p. 662.

91. Ibid., p. 663.

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90. Encyclopædia Britannica, II, p. 658.  
91. Ibid., p. 658.

By 360 or 359 the revolts were over. Sometime between December 359 and March 358, for we have no exact record, Artaxerxes died in peace at an advanced age.<sup>92</sup> The Persia he passed on was weaker than the Persia he had received.

### 9. ARTAXERXES III

When his father was dead, Ochus succeeded to the throne apparently without any serious contest and took the name Artaxerxes III. To make sure of his throne he put to death almost all his relatives he could lay his hands on who might be dangerous.<sup>93</sup>

In 356, Artaxerxes ordered all the satraps to dismiss their mercenaries. Most of them obeyed but Artabazus of Phrygia resisted. He was supported by his brothers-in-law, Mentor and Mennon of Rhodes. This rebellion was soon put down and the leaders fled to Philip of Macedon.<sup>94</sup>

With most of the rebellions put down Artaxerxes was now confronted with the age long problem of Egypt. It was far too valuable a royal possession to lose control of but this was what had happened under his predecessors. The first two expeditions against Egypt were unsuccessful and, as a result, in 351, Artaxerxes was faced with a serious revolt on the

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92. Rogers, op. cit., p. 236.

93. Ibid., p. 241.

94. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 69.



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<sup>92</sup> Herodotus, op. cit., p. 236.  
<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 241.  
<sup>94</sup> Diodorus, op. cit., p. 69.

part of Sidon and the other Phœnician towns, and the princes of Cyprus. The Jews joined in the revolt, the Persian army was defeated and the Phœnicians remained independent for three years.<sup>95</sup>

After great preparation, the king came in person to lead an attack on Egypt but was repelled by the Greek generals of Nectanebos. About a year later, Artaxerxes led a siege of Sidon. The Sidonian king, Tennes, considered resistance hopeless, and betrayed the town to the Persian king, assisted by Mentor, who had been sent with Greek troops from Egypt to defend the town.<sup>96</sup> Before the Persians entered the city its inhabitants determined to die, where they had lived as free men, rather than to be carried away captive to some remote corner of the empire. There, they set fire to their city and perished in its flames.<sup>97</sup> The traitor, Tennes, was put to death, but Mentor rose high in the favor of the king. He entered into close alliance with the eunuch, Bagoas, the king's favorite and vizier. Warned by the fate of Sidon, all the rest of Phœnicia capitulated and thus escaped ruthless destruction.

Artaxerxes was now free to march against Egypt in a final attempt to subdue her. Before he had attacked Sidon, he had

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95. Diodorus, XVI, 40, 41, 44, 48.

96. Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

97. Diodorus XVI, pp. 43-45.





turned to the greater Greek states to seek help of them. Athens and Sparta both honorably refused but Thebes sent 1,000 heavily armed infantry under Lacrates and the Argives sent 3,000 men, who were placed under the command of Nikostratos.<sup>98</sup> From the Greek cities of Asia Minor, came 6,000 men.<sup>99</sup> With this new aid, the Persians now attacked Egypt. They met Nectanebos in a hard fought battle at Pelusium which resulted in the defeat of the Egyptian force and Nectanebos fled to Ethiopia. News of this defeat spread through Egypt and it was not long until Egypt was again under Persian control.<sup>100</sup> For more than fifty years, Egypt had claimed or exercised independence of Persian authority. It was now to feel a return of alien dominion in its worst form. Artaxerxes used his authority with great cruelty. He plundered the Egyptian temples and is said to have killed the Apis.<sup>101</sup>

After Artaxerxes returned to Susa, he was now content to live in his harem and leave to others the rule which he had ruined. Bagoas, the king's favorite eunuch, became more powerful as the king sank deeper into the association of his harem. The position which he had now secured should have been sufficient to satisfy his ambitions. He now aimed, if not

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98. Rogers, op. cit., p. 247.

99. Ibid., p. 248.

100. Diodorus, XVI, p. 47.

101. Rogers, op. cit., p. 252.

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98. Rogers, op. cit., p. 247.  
 99. Ibid., p. 248.  
 100. Diodorus, VII, p. 47.  
 101. Rogers, op. cit., p. 248.

actually to obtain the throne for himself, at any rate to place upon it a puppet through whom he could rule. In order to have the path cleared, he had the king and his older sons with him poisoned in the year 338.<sup>102</sup> He spared Arses, the youngest son, to serve his purpose. But Arses had a will of his own and showed signs that he intended to rule in his own right. Then it was that Bagoas had him put out of the way and chose a descendant of Darius Nothus.<sup>103</sup> The new king took the name Darius III (Codomannus) and set himself to grasp firmly the reins of power. Bagoas had again chosen unwisely. It was not long until Darius III saw clearly what Bagoas had done to others and no doubt would try to do to him. Thus, he had Bagoas poisoned, as he had poisoned others.<sup>104</sup>

#### 10. DARIUS III

Darius III became king in the year 336. In this same year Alexander the Great, but twenty years of age, ascended the throne in far away Macedonia, with a commission from his father to make war upon Persia, ringing in his ears. In 334 his advance eastward began. The battle of Granicus proved a victory for Alexander which shook the edifice of the Persian empire to its foundations.<sup>105</sup> Blow after blow followed. Then

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102. Diodorus, XVII, p. 5, 3.

103. Ibid., p. 5, 5.

104. Ibid., 5, 3-6, 2.

105. Ibid., p. 19, 21.





came the decisive battle of Issus in 333 in which Darius' mother, wife, and three children fell into the hands of Alexander but Darius escaped.<sup>106</sup> Then followed Alexander's conquest of Phoenicia, and the fall of Tyre <sup>107</sup>332. This was followed by the conquest of Egypt. As he entered the capital city, Memphis, he was quick to pay honor to the Apis worship. Diodorus refers to this policy in these words: "The Egyptians, as the Persians had violated their sacred rites and had dominated rudely over them, welcomed the Macedonians gladly."<sup>108</sup>

Now that Alexander had stripped from the Persian Empire all its western possessions, he was ready to adventure into the vast regions of Asia to seek out Darius, destroy him, and add to his newly won territory what remained of the Persian empire.

On October 1, 331 the Persian and Macedonian armies lined up against each other in the plain of Gaugamela.<sup>109</sup> The battle was hard fought but the Persians were put to flight. This victory opened the way to Susa and Persia proper and before long all of Babylon was in the hands of Alexander. Darius continued to retreat farther and farther east. He fled to Ecbatana, in Media, and on the approach of his opponent, fled

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106. Rogers, op. cit., p. 286.

107. Ibid., p. 297.

108. Diodorus, XVII, p. 49.

109. Ibid., pp. 55-61.

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106. Roberts, op. cit., p. 386.  
 107. Ibid., p. 387.  
 108. Ibid., p. 388.  
 109. Ibid., p. 389.



from there to the northern provinces. He was now seized by Bessus, Satrap of Bactria.<sup>110</sup> Alexander continued to follow until somewhere on the road to Bactria the dead body of Darius was found murdered by the spear-thrust of conspirators July 330.<sup>111</sup> With his death the Persian empire was a thing of the past for it was now incorporated in the vast empire of Alexander the Great.

#### 11. PERSIAN INFLUENCE ON JEWISH BELIEF

In Persia, a religion, which has many likenesses to the religion of the Old Testament, was founded by Zoroaster. The question, as to how far the religion of the Jews was influenced by that of Persia, is a very controversial one.<sup>112</sup> Some scholars deny any Persian influence while others see a good deal of it. Both extreme positions are probably exaggerated.

It is interesting to note some of the marked parallels between Zoroastrianism and Judaism. These parallels do not necessarily denote the influence of either on the other, however, the Jewish leaders must have felt considerable sympathy with much they saw in Zoroastrian belief.

Zoroaster taught that there was only one God. This

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110. Rogers, op. cit., p. 356.

111. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 70.

112. Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion, p. 273.

from there to the northern provinces. It was now seized by  
the army of the Emperor, and the Emperor continued to follow

until somewhere on the road to Hsiao the dead body of  
the Emperor was found, surrounded by the great army of conquerors.  
July 230. <sup>111</sup> With this news the Emperor's wife was a widow of  
the East for it was not reported in this part of  
Alexander the Great.

### 11. THE INFLUENCE OF THE INDIAN RELIGION

In Persia, a religion, which was very different from the  
religion of the old Persians, was founded by Zoroaster. The  
question as to how far the religion of the Persians was in-  
fluenced by that of India, is a very controversial one. <sup>112</sup>  
Some scholars say that Indian influences were there and  
good deal of it. Both extreme positions are probably ex-  
aggerated.

It is interesting to note some of the marked similarities  
between Zoroastrianism and Judaism. These similarities do not  
necessarily denote the influence of either on the other,  
however, the Jewish leaders must have felt considerable  
sympathy with many things new in Zoroastrian belief.  
Zoroaster taught that there was only one God. This

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<sup>110</sup> Rogers, op. cit., p. 285.  
<sup>111</sup> Gaster, op. cit., p. 10.  
<sup>112</sup> Gaster and Robinson, Indian Religion, p. 275.

teaching suffered deterioration afterwards but so far as Zoroaster himself was concerned he was a monotheist. The Jews owed nothing to the Persians in regard to their monotheistic belief but the parallel is worth nothing if for no other reason than that it must have commended Zoroastrianism to them. If this was the case it makes it easier for us to understand Persian influence in other directions.

Apart from Judaism, no religion laid such emphasis on moral living as Zoroastrianism did. Zoroaster declared his task to be the setting up of a kingdom of God on earth and his adherents must be pure in body as in mind.<sup>113</sup> Certainly, the high ethical ideals of the Persian religion must have appealed to the Jewish religious leaders as being in accordance with their Law.

Zoroastrianism was a book-religion just as Judaism had come to be. The Persians believed in the pre-existence of the divine Law which they personified while the Jews identified their Law with Wisdom.

It is quite probable that the Angelology and Demonology of the Persians directly influenced Judaism.<sup>114</sup> In these things, the earlier form of Iranian religion persisted in spite of Zoroaster's teaching.

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113. Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion, p. 274.

114. Wardle, The History and Religion of Israel, p. 222.



teaching without deterioration afterwards but as far as  
 Gersonides himself was concerned he was a rationalist. The Jews  
 owed nothing to the Talmud in regard to their monotheistic  
 belief but the Talmud is worth nothing if for no other  
 reason than that it must have contained contradictions to  
 them. If this was the case it makes it easier for us to  
 understand Gersonides' influence in other directions.

Apart from Judaism, no religion has such emphasis on  
 moral living as Gersonides' Judaism. Gersonides declared his  
 task to be the setting up of a kingdom of God on earth and  
 his abundant masterpiece in logic and science. Certainly,  
 the high ethical basis of the Jewish religion must have  
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 words of Gersonides' teaching.

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115. Gersonides and Robinson, Hebrew Encyclopedia, p. 274.  
 116. Gersonides, The Philosophy and Religion of Gersonides, p. 225.

It would seem, therefore, that there was much in Persian religion which would have been regarded with sympathy by the Jews but in reality they were influenced but little by it. There was one exception to this and that was in the domain of eschatology. W. O. E. Oesterley believes that "it is certain that Jewish eschatology was saturated with Persian elements."<sup>115</sup> Prominent, he says, among these was the idea of the final world-judgment, which Jewish eschatologists adapted and applied to the overthrow of the Gentiles at the Messiah's advent. Connected with this was also the idea of world-judgment which would be immediately preceded by tumults and wars among the nations. Because of the unrest in the world at that time the expectations of Jewish apocalyptists was aroused regarding the near approach, as they believed, of the end of the world.

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115. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 168.

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## CHAPTER III

SIGNIFICANT TRENDS DURING THE PERSIAN PERIOD1. THE RETURN OF THE EXILES TO PALESTINE:  
THE EARLIEST YEARS AFTER THE RETURN.

The sources for the history of the earliest years after the return of the exiles are very few: Ezra 1:1-4:5; I Esdras 2:1-14, 5:7-70, 6, 7; Josephus, Antiquities, 11:1ff. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah, originally forming one with I, II Chronicles, demand much caution and discernment in their use. The compiler was influenced by certain tendencies and had certain preconceived ideas. The sources which he utilized in compiling his work were manipulated in accordance with these. He was greatly interested in the worship and ritual of the Temple as these existed in his day. He was writing at least two centuries after the time with which he was dealing. His interest reflected itself in his writings concerning the period from the time of the return to the age of Ezra. His prime object here was to record the rebuilding of the Temple, to insist upon the paramount importance of the cultus, and everything connected with it, and to represent Ezra as the great exponent of the Law.

In Ezra 1:2-4, we have the decree of Cyrus permitting the return of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia to their own land.

CHAPTER III

SIGNIFICANT THINGS DURING THE BABYLONIAN PERIOD

I. THE RETURN OF THE EXILES TO PALESTINE:  
THE EARLIEST YEARS AFTER THE RETURN.

The sources for the history of the exiled years after the return of the exiles are very few: Ezra 1:1-6:18; 1 Esdras 2:1-14, 8:1-7:7; Tobit 1:1-11:1. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah, originally forming one with 1, 2 Chronicles, demand much caution and discernment in their use. The compiler was influenced by certain tendencies and had certain preconceived ideas. The sources which he utilized in compiling his work were manipulated in accordance with these. He was greatly interested in the worship and ritual of the Temple as these existed in his day. He was writing at least two centuries after the time with which he was dealing. His interest reflected itself in his writings concerning the period from the time of the return to the age of Ezra. His prime object here was to record the rebuilding of the Temple, to insist upon the paramount importance of the cultus, and everything connected with it, and to represent Ezra as the great exponent of the Law. In Ezra 1:8-4, we have the decree of Cyrus permitting the return of the Jewish exiles in Babylon to their own land.

We are told that this decree was issued in his first year, meaning of course, the first year of his becoming king of Babylonia in 538, for he became king of Persia in 558. It was quite in keeping with the general policy of Cyrus that he should have given orders for the deported Jews to be brought back to Palestine; that he should have authorized the rebuilding of the Temple of Yahweh at Jerusalem, and the return of the sacred vessels removed by the Chaldeans. In the Cyrus Cylinder, the king took glory in the fact that he had brought many gods back to their original seats of worship and he was anxious that the God of the Jews should have his place of worship restored.<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to doubt that in some form such a decree was issued by Cyrus.

While this is true there is reason to regard the form of the edict given in Ezra 1:2-4 with suspicion. The very fact that this edict in Ezra 1:1 is claimed to be in fulfilment of the words of Jeremiah leads one to expect to find in it the Jewish point of view. The prophecy of Jeremiah,<sup>2</sup> to which reference is made speaks only of the exiles returning to their native country, while the decree in Ezra 1:2-4 urges the building of the Temple, which is mentioned three times in this short passage. It seems quite unnatural for Cyrus, a worshipper of

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1. Cylinder of Cyrus, lines 30-33, Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels, p. 382.

2. Jeremiah 29:10.



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1. Cylinder of Cyrus, lines 30-33, Roberts, Cuneiform Tablets, p. 382.  
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Marduk, to say that Yahweh had given him "all the kingdoms of the earth."<sup>3</sup> Certainly, he had the susceptibilities of his own people to think of. Whatever consideration Cyrus may have shown to the religious beliefs of the nations he conquered, it is hard to believe that he ordered his non-Israelite subject to make voluntary offerings for the benefit of the Temple of Jerusalem, and to bring presents of gold and silver, of goods and of beasts to the Jews about to return to Palestine. That the Chronicler was editing his source is seen by a comparison with the parallel account in I Esdras 2:5-7, where the reference in the decree is to fellow Jews, not to Babylonians. From these facts it seems to me that the only conclusion which can be drawn is, that so far as the form of the edict is concerned, it was probably based on some official document which gave permission to the exiled Jews to return to their own country; but otherwise it was the work of the Chronicler.

The text of the edict of Cyrus is also given in Ezra 6:3-5. Here, we get another version of it inserted in the decree of Darius I, and written in Aramaic. This document was said to have been found in Ecbatana in Media, the summer residence of the Persian kings.<sup>4</sup> This was rather strange for

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3. Ezra 1:2.

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we would naturally expect a document of this kind to be preserved in Babylon, but no doubt it was found in Ecbatana, for otherwise there would be no point in mentioning such a detail. It is said that the decree was written on a "roll."<sup>5</sup> This points to the fact that the compiler could not have seen the original which, like all Persian official documents, would have been inscribed on a clay tablet. In this decree the dimensions of the Temple to be built were given. W. O. E. Oesterley believes that "it is extremely unlikely that details of this kind would be indicated in an official decree, but it is quite in the style of the Chronicler, or of one of his school of thought."<sup>6</sup> Opinions differ widely as to the historical character of this Cyrus decree. It seems reasonable to me to believe, in the light of the facts, that a decree in some form was issued by Cyrus permitting the return of the exiles, but this has been so altered for a particular purpose by the Chronicler that its original form and object has been almost obliterated.

As a result of the decree of Cyrus there followed the return of a certain number of the exiles to Jerusalem under the leadership of Sheshbazzar, "the prince of Judah."<sup>7</sup> According to the Chronicler, the real object of the return was

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5. Ezra 6:2.

6. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 76.

7. Ezra 1:8.

we would naturally expect a document of this kind to be preserved in Babylon, but no doubt it was found in Babylonia, for otherwise there would be no point in mentioning such a tablet. It is said that the decree was written on a "tablet." This points to the fact that the compiler could not have seen the original which, like all Persian official documents, would have been inscribed on a clay tablet. In this decree the dimensions of the temple to be built were given. W. O. E. Gesterley believes that "it is extremely unlikely that details of this kind would be included in an official decree, but it is quite in the style of the Chronist, or of one of his school of thought." <sup>6</sup> Opinions differ widely as to the historical character of this Cyrus decree. It seems reasonable to me to believe, in the light of the facts, that a decree in some form was issued by Cyrus permitting the return of the exiles, but this has been so altered for a particular purpose by the Chronist that its original form and object has been almost obliterated.

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6. Ezra 6:2.  
7. Ezra 1:8.  
8. Gesterley, op. cit., p. 76.

to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. From Ezra 3:8-13, we learn that the foundation was laid in the second month of the second year after the return, i. e. in the year 537.

In Haggai 1:1, 15 we are told that the work was started in the sixth month of the second year of Darius I, i. e. 520. Here, we run across an irreconcilable difference between the Chronicler's account and that of Haggai. Both the Chronicler (Ezra 3:2, 8: 4:2, 3), and Haggai (1:1, 12: 2:2-4), as well as Zechariah (3:8, 9), mention Joshua and Zerubbabel<sup>8</sup> as taking the lead in the work. According to the Chronicler, these two were the leaders both in 537 and 520. This fact, in itself, is not so impossible but the foundation could not well have been laid twice. Another complication enters here, for in Ezra 1:8, 11 Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah, appears as the leader, and in 5:16 it is definitely stated that "Sheshbazzar laid the foundations of the house of God which is in Jerusalem." Now we have the Chronicler differing not only from Haggai and Zechariah, but from himself. W. O. E. Oosterley believes that the Chronicler has confused the second year of Darius with the second year of Cyrus, either by mistake or purposely.<sup>9</sup> Sheshbazzar is referred to as "prince

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8. It is interesting to note, as illustrating the Chronicler's point of view, that he almost always mentions Joshua before Zerubbabel, the priest being to him the more important (but cf. Ezra 3:8; 4:3); Haggai does the reverse.

9. Oosterley, op. cit., p. 78.



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of Judah" in Ezra 1:8, and as "governor" in 5:14, and this is the last we hear of him. Sheshbazzar is a Babylonian name and is not to be identified, as has often been done, with Zerubbabel, for it is extremely unlikely that a Jew would have had two Babylonian names. Adolphe Lods points out that he was probably a son of King Jeconiah, who figured in one of the genealogies of the book of Chronicles as Shenazzar.<sup>10</sup> If this is true Cyrus chose a descendant of David, a member of the former royal house, to be his first governor of the province of Judah. Herodotus tells us it was "customary for the Persians to respect kings' sons, and to restore to them their power and their crown, even though their fathers had rebelled."<sup>11</sup>

We do not know the exact year in which Sheshbazzar relinquished his governorship but it must have been before 520. Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel and grandson of Jeconiah, therefore a nephew to Sheshbazzar was appointed in his place.

It is probable that a certain number of the exiles took advantage of the permission granted by Cyrus and returned to their country, some with Sheshbazzar, others with Zerubbabel. It is quite certain that no large number of Jews returned at this time for we know from subsequent history that a numerous,

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10. I Chronicles 3:18.

11. Herodotus, III. 15.

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We do not know the exact year in which Shebassan re-installed his governorship but it must have been before 520. Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel and grandson of Jeconiah, therefore a nephew to Shebassan, was appointed in his place. It is probable that a certain number of the exiles took advantage of the permission granted by Cyrus and returned to their country, some with Shebassan, others with Zerubbabel. It is quite certain that no large number of Jews returned at this time for we know from subsequent history that a numerous

10. I Chronicles 3:18.  
11. Herodotus, III, 12.



rich, and influential colony of Jews remained behind in Babylonia, and that later more members of this colony returned to Palestine with Nehemiah and Ezra. Many stayed in Babylon because they did not wish to leave their possessions. In order to leave the country, the well-to-do Jews would have had to sell their land or stock-in-trade for mere nothing, or to give up good positions and begin life all over again in a poor country. Not many of the Jews were willing at this time to make such a sacrifice for their faith.

The first years after the return were years of struggle and hardship. It was no easy task to portion out the land among those who had remained in Palestine and those who had returned from exile. Due to a drought, blight attacked the corn, and the first crops were poor, even the grain in the granaries spoiled.<sup>12</sup> The returning exiles were obliged to build themselves habitations among the ruins of the former buildings. When the armies of Cambyses passed near the borders of Judaea on their way to conquer Egypt in 525 there must have taken place the usual accompaniments to such an event of the kind--requisitions, forced labor, looting, perhaps a levying of troops.

It is not hard to understand that during the first eighteen years of the Persian domination, the Palestine Jews,

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12. Haggai 1:9-11; 2:15-19.

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12. Haghat 1:9-11; 2:18-19.

living as they did from hand to mouth, could hardly have had either the time or the means to rebuild the Temple.

## 2. THE DECLINE OF PROPHECY AND THE RISE OF LEGALISM AND PRIEST CRAFT.

There is a marked contrast between the eighth-century prophets, ~~and~~ Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah, on the one hand, and Haggai, Zechariah, Trito-Isaiah, and Malachi on the other. The one group seems to regard sacrifice as a mistake, the other as essential. But the two groups were not facing the same problems. The exile had made profound changes in the Jewish people. After it, they were never again the same either politically or religiously. From now on, the monarchy was at an end and the Jews were henceforth subject to a foreign power. As time went on, their own local government fell gradually into the hands of the priests. We no longer have in the post-exilic period a Jewish state, but a church. The many political ambitions of pre-exilic times were at an end. The prophets did not have an aggressive nationalism or militaristic spirit against which they were forced to contend as in earlier days.

The religious situation had now changed to a certain extent. In the pre-exilic period, idolatry was common and heathen rites and customs were in vogue in connection with the worship of Yahweh. The exile had made a change. What the spoken words of the prophets had not been able to accomplish,



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## 2. THE BEGINNING OF EXILE AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM AND PRIEST CRAT.

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was effected by the logic of events. The captivity had proved irresistibly the truth of the prophetic message. The Jews emerged from their exile as a monotheistic people. The faith of the prophets had now become the faith of the community as a whole. Their religious needs were no longer the same as they had been. Just as Ezekiel changed the character of his message after the fall of Jerusalem, so a similar change is naturally to be expected in the case of the post-exilic prophets. These later prophets adapted their message to the altered conditions of their own time and this helps to account for the marked difference between the pre-exilic prophecy and that of the post-exilic prophets.

Oral prophecy had been dominant in the pre-exilic times but its day was now about over and its inheritance passed to other movements, on the one hand to literature and literary research, and on the other to the priesthood and the sacred community. It is true that the common people were at first still guided by priests and prophets as heretofore;<sup>13</sup> but increasingly, as time went on, the leadership tended to pass from the prophets to the priests.

#### A. Haggai: The prophet of the rebuilding of the Temple.

Our first unquestioned record of conditions in Palestine, after the Persian conquest of Babylonia and the release of

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13. Zechariah 7:3.

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Great prophecy had been dominant in the pre-exilic times but its day was now almost over and its inheritance passed to other movements, on the one hand to literature and history research, and on the other to the priesthood and the sacred community. It is true that the common people were at first still guided by priests and prophets as interpreters, but increasingly, as time went on, the leadership tended to pass from the prophets to the priests.

A. Harnack: The prophet of the remission of the Temple.  
Our first unquestioned record of conditions in Palestine after the Persian conquest of Babylon and the release of



the Jews from their exile, is the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, beginning in the year 520, eighteen years after Cyrus' conquest of Babylon. At this period, we find a Jewish settlement in Judaea, with Jerusalem as its center. It was governed by a prince of the Davidic line, Zerubbabel,<sup>14</sup> son of Shealtiel, and had as its religious head a chief priest, Joshua, the son of Jozadak.<sup>15</sup> These two prophets give us some information with regard to religious conditions existing up to that time. Worship had been carried on in the ruins of the Temple, but it was largely a religion of fasting and mourning. Ritually, its most essential elements seemed to be numerous fasts on days commemorating various events connected with the fall and destruction of the Temple. There appeared to be at this time friendly relations with the Samaritans, who came to Jerusalem to worship. Jews from Babylonia and also from other countries seemed to have paid visits of a religious character, and pilgrimages to the ruins of the ancient shrine of Yahweh at Jerusalem were made.<sup>16</sup>

The period covered by Haggai's prophecies was very short, only about a year. We believe that he came from Babylonia, where he had hitherto lived among the exiles, because of the prominent mention he makes of Darius at the opening of the book,

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14. Haggai 1:1.

15. Ezra 3:8; Haggai 2:4.

16. Zechariah 7:2ff.

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came to Jerusalem to worship. Jews from Babylon and also  
from other countries seemed to have paid visits of a religious  
character, and pilgrimages to the ruins of the ancient shrine  
of Yehweh at Jerusalem were made.<sup>16</sup>

The period covered by Haggai's prophecies was very short,  
only about a year. We believe that he came from Babylonian,  
where he had hitherto lived among the exiles, because of the  
prominent mention he makes of Babel at the opening of the book.

<sup>14</sup> Haggai 1:1.  
<sup>15</sup> Ezra 3:2; Haggai 2:4.  
<sup>16</sup> Zechariah 7:21.

and by the fact that the Babylonian chronological system is followed; according to this the year began in the spring.<sup>17</sup> But what makes this practically certain is his attitude as recorded in 2:12-14. This passage shows clearly that Haggai must have been in close touch with the circle of priests and scribes, who, during the exile, were busily occupied with the study and elaboration of the Law.

In the year 520, Haggai, speaking on Yahweh's behalf, called upon the leaders and people of Judah to undertake at last the rebuilding of the Temple.<sup>18</sup> No doubt this appeal was connected in the prophet's mind with the course of political events at the time. Since the death of Cambyses, who had died in the spring of 522, the Persian empire had been rent asunder by violent rebellions. It is in this disturbed condition of the Persian empire that Haggai delivered his prophetic message. It is little wonder that Haggai should have believed that all this commotion among the peoples heralded the near approach of the Messianic Age. The traditional belief that there was to be a period of unrest which would precede the advent of the Messiah, was voiced by the prophet in his well known words:

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17. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 408.

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18. Haggai 1:1.

Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the precious things of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory....<sup>19</sup>

Following the Deuteronomic method of interpretation of good fortune and misfortune, but connecting it precisely with the Temple, he assured the people that their lack of prosperity was their own fault, because of their failure to build the Temple of Yahweh. "Ye looked for much, and, lo, it came to little....Why? saith Jehovah of hosts. Because of mine house that lieth waste, while ye run every man to his own house."<sup>20</sup>

Rebuild the Temple, and the fields will once more yield abundant crops. And more than that, by so doing, he told the people, they would give the signal for the reign of the Messiah to begin. It is clear from the titles which Haggai conferred on Zerubbabel that he was prepared to welcome him as the king for whom he hoped.<sup>21</sup>

Haggai is called a prophet but as compared with the pre-exilic prophets he is hardly deserving of the title. The prophets, before him, had taught the ethical righteousness of Yahweh and His demand that His chosen people should show

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19. Haggai 2:6-7.

20. Haggai 1:9.

21. Ibid., 2:23.

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19. Haggai 2:6-7.  
20. Haggai 1:9.  
21. Isaiah 60:1, 2:22.



their faithfulness to Him by moral living and spiritual worship. They had rebuked sin, whether it was in the social, political, or religious life of the people. They had taught the certainty of divine judgment on the wicked, and the promise of a restored people when purified. Of all this, there is scarcely a trace to be found in the teaching of Haggai. Drought and unfruitfulness are not spoken of as being a punishment for moral wrong but simply because the people had not taken in hand the rebuilding of the dilapidated Temple. Oesterley has this to say:

Haggai is almost wholly concerned with urging the people to undertake this renovation and with the promise of the advent of the Messianic time when this is accomplished. His designation of Zerubbabel as the Messiah shows that his mind was concentrated only on earthly things; of higher religious thought or of the reign of righteousness in the Messiah's kingdom there is not a word. His whole mental outlook and utilitarian religious point of view is sufficient to show that he can have no place among the prophets in the real sense of the word.<sup>22</sup>

#### B. Zechariah: The seer of the new community

We know nothing of the personality and life of Zechariah, apart from his book. Like Haggai, he was a son of the exile. This may be gathered from the fact that he was a grandson of Iddo,<sup>23</sup> who, according to Nehemiah 12:4, was one of the priests

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22. Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 409.

23. Zechariah 1:1.

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<sup>22</sup> Gasterley and Robinson, op. cit., p. 409.  
<sup>23</sup> Zechariah 1:1.

who returned from Babylon;<sup>24</sup> the family had, presumably, settled down in the land of exile. The record of his activity extends from 520-518 as related in his book.

Zechariah joined with Haggai in urging the nation to return to its God, and promised, in return, a cessation of the Lord's anger, and therefore the salvation longed for by all. "Return unto me....and I will return unto you."<sup>25</sup>

Zechariah's prophecies throw somewhat more light on the political condition of the Jews than does Haggai's. At the outset he clearly expected that the time had come for the restoration of a king of David's line, predicted by former prophets, and most recently by Ezekiel in Babylonia.

Zerubbabel was to realize this very ancient hope.<sup>26</sup>

By the end of the first two years of Darius's reign, he had overthrown the rebels, who threatened his rule and established his power on a firm basis. In accordance with this, the later prophecies of Zechariah take on a new aspect. The hope of the Davidic restoration in Zerubbabel had vanished. Apparently Zerubbabel himself had vanished, displaced by a Persian governor, after a policy inaugurated by Darius for the unification and better administration of his great empire.<sup>27</sup>

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24. In Ezra 5:1; 6:14 he is called "the son of Iddo."

25. Zechariah 1:1-6.

26. See Bewer, op. cit., p. 240 for a discussion of textual changes made in Zechariah 6:11, 13; also Gray, op. cit., p. 228.

27. Zechariah 6:11ff.



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Isaiah joined with Haggai in urging the nation to re-  
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24. In Ezra 3:1-6:14 he is called "the son of 1830."  
25. Isaiah 1:1-3.  
26. See below, p. 240 for a discussion of  
textual changes made in Isaiah 6:1, 11; also Gray, p.  
111, p. 238.  
27. Isaiah 6:1-11.

Zechariah did not, however, lose his belief in the future of Jerusalem. The most hopeful and beautiful part of the whole book is the last chapter,<sup>28</sup> in which he pictured the prosperity that shall be. For the king of David's line with whom Zechariah had connected the hopes held out in his earlier prophecies, he now substituted the personal rule of Yahweh, their God. Wishing to counteract the general depression, he related eight visions which had been shown to him one night by Yahweh. Each one of the visions was concerned with the preparation of the people and the land for the coming Messiah and the Messianic era.

The governor-general of the province beyond the Euphrates, Tattenai, heard of the rebellious intentions underlying the work of reconstruction. He came to Jerusalem and made inquiries.<sup>29</sup> The Jews insisted that Cyrus had given them permission. The satrap did not forbid the building to go on, but he sent a letter to the king, Darius, for instructions.<sup>30</sup> In due time, the answer came back that the building was to continue.<sup>31</sup>

The foundation of the Temple was laid in 520.<sup>32</sup> All that is known of Haggai from his book is confined to this year.

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28. Zechariah 8. The remaining chapters of our present book belong to a later date and a different author.

29. Ezra 5:3.

30. Ibid., 5:6.

31. Ibid., 6, 7ff.

32. Haggai 1:15.





The latest date we have mentioned in the book of Zechariah is 518.<sup>33</sup> From neither of these two prophets, do we get any information as to the completion of the Temple. For this, we must turn to the book of Ezra which tells us, that the Temple was finished in the sixth year of the reign of Darius, i. e., 516.<sup>34</sup> It may seem that the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and their contemporaries exaggerated the importance of so material a work as the erection of a Temple. But it must be remembered that, for a generation so deeply imbued with the ritualistic spirit of Ezekiel, to desist from the building of the Temple, would have been to declare both faith and hope bankrupt.

The apocalyptic teachings of Zechariah are largely political in character. He was dealing with the conditions of the Persian empire and the possibilities of its overthrow. To have spoken in direct words, would not only have involved himself in danger, but very likely brought disaster upon the whole people. Zechariah was greatly influenced, like Ezekiel, by the thought of the Day of Yahweh, the day of judgment upon the foes of Yahweh and of Israel. It is interesting to note, that he did not take the exclusive view which belonged to Ezekiel and which was later still more definitely connected with the Babylonian Jewish school of thought. He pictures

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33. Zechariah 7:1.

34. Ezra 6:15.



the Jews living over all the world making their pilgrimages to the Temple. The Jews were to become the agent, through their dispersion, to bring all nations of the earth to worship Yahweh.<sup>35</sup>

In the book of Zechariah, there is frequent mention of an angel as intermediary between God and the prophet.<sup>36</sup> This is quite different from the direct intercourse which is invariably found among the earlier prophets. Deity had now become conceived of as a Being so transcendent that prophecy itself was inevitably declining, for a God so transcendent must have priests, not prophets. Zechariah's dependence on the older prophets is also a symptom of the decadence of prophecy. His free use of symbolic visions reminds us of Amos and Ezekiel; the large part played by angels is a development of the method of Ezekiel; and the term "Branch" for the Messiah is borrowed from Jeremiah.<sup>37</sup> Zechariah expressly appealed to the authority of the older prophets.<sup>38</sup> Zechariah also showed a tendency to support his statements by arguments, as if he hardly expected mere declaration to carry conviction.<sup>39</sup>

Haggai and Zechariah are mainly important for the practical service they rendered at a crisis in the history of revealed religion. Ezekiel and the Second

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35. Zechariah 2:10ff.

36. Ibid., 1:9, 2:3, 4:1.

37. Jeremiah 23:5; 33:15.

38. Zechariah 1:4-6; 7:7, 12.

39. Ibid., 1:4-6, 12; 4:9.



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Yahweh.<sup>36</sup>

In the book of Isaiah, there is frequent mention of an angel as intermediary between God and the prophet.<sup>36</sup> This is

quite different from the direct intercourse which is in-

variably found among the earlier prophets. God had now

become conceived of as a Being so transcendent that prophecy itself was inevitably declining, for a God so transcendent must

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- 36. Isaiah 6:1-10.
  - 37. Isaiah 1:1-2:4.
  - 38. Isaiah 40:1-41:16.
  - 39. Isaiah 1:1-2:4.

Isaiah had maintained the faith and hope of Israel through the gloom of the Exile, and it was due to their successors that the zeal of the Jews was not extinguished by the distress and disappointment of the years which followed the Return.<sup>40</sup>

### C. Trito-Isaiah: The New Jerusalem

The rebuilding of the Temple was completed in 516.<sup>41</sup> The next authentic date given in Biblical records as we have seen is 444,<sup>42</sup> the arrival of Nehemiah in Palestine. There is, thus, a considerable gap in the historical sequence, for in our main sources, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, nothing is told of the history during these intervening seventy-two years. Scholars are now quite well agreed that there are certain passages occurring elsewhere in the Old Testament which give some insight into the historical conditions during this period. It is believed that some passages contained in Isaiah 56-66, and most of the book of Malachi, were written after the rebuilding of the Temple in 516, but before the time of Nehemiah and Ezra, i. e. before 444.

During the years immediately following the rebuilding of the Temple, if we may judge from Isaiah 56:1-8, the returned exiles were living in quiet circumstances, observing the practice of their religion under the guidance of teachers

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85. 40. Bennett, W. H., Religion of Post-Exilic Prophets, p.

41. Ezra 6:14, 15.

42. Nehemiah 2:1.

Israel had retained the Law and the  
of Israel through the blood of the Law,  
and it was only by their unbelief that  
the Law was not established  
of the Law and the unbelief of the  
years which followed the return.

O. P. Israel: The New Testament

The rebuilding of the Temple was completed in 516 B.C. The  
next authentic date given in Biblical records as we have seen  
is 458 B.C., the arrival of Nehemiah in Jerusalem. There is  
then, a considerable gap in the historical sequence, for in  
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building of the Temple in 516, but before the time of Nehemiah  
and Ezra, i. e. before 458 B.C.

During the years immediately following the rebuilding  
of the Temple, it was very likely that the re-  
turned exiles were living in difficult circumstances, observing  
the practices of their religion under the guidance of teachers

40. Bennett, W. H., Religion of Post-Exilic Prophets, p.

41. Ezra 6:16, 17.  
42. Nehemiah 2:1.



well versed in the Law. They were living at peace not only with those of their brethren, who had settled down in the land before them, but also with the Samaritans. But while, as a whole, the community was living a God-fearing life, there were already signs of the presence of some who were causing unrest: "the wicked are like the troubled sea."<sup>43</sup> As time went on, it became evident that the influence which Zechariah had exercised, especially his teaching of the presence of Yahweh in the midst of his people,<sup>44</sup> was beginning to wane, for, though the observance of the outward forms of religion was strongly in evidence, it was merely formal, sincerity was wanting, and a contentious spirit was abroad.<sup>45</sup> There are some details given that hint at a grave cleavage among the classes of society for there was oppression of the poor on the part of the more wealthy. But oppression of the poor and cynical indifference to the sufferings of others were not the only charges brought by the prophet against certain sections of the people. From Isaiah 59:1-15 (excluding verses 5-8), it would seem that there was an increase of lawlessness as time went on, and a melancholy state of society is revealed in verses 3, 4, where blood-guiltiness is spoken of, and corruption of justice is prevalent, together with a low

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43. Isaiah 57:20.

44. Zechariah 52:5, 10.

45. Isaiah 58:9.



standard of morals.

To Triton-Isaiah the Temple, its sacrificial worship, and the Law, occupied a place of importance quite unrecognized by the earlier prophets. In his denunciations of sin as the barrier which separated Yahweh from His people, his call to repentance, and his insistence that there could be no forgiveness for those who lead unworthy lives and whose worship was insincere, Triton-Isaiah followed in the steps of the pre-exilic prophets.

Here and there apocalyptic elements may be discerned.<sup>46</sup> In this respect, the prophet was influenced by Ezekiel and at times drew from the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah. In the pictures of the future we have most of the usual features of the Messianic Age. In this case, however, the Messianic king had disappeared. There was no longer a prospect of deliverance by natural means or human agents. The hope of Israel now was in the direction of the personal intervention of Yahweh. He will give peace, prosperity and glory to His people and He will destroy their enemies, especially Edom,<sup>47</sup> and make the Gentiles their servants and tributaries. By this time, Jerusalem stood for Israel, and the Temple was of supreme importance, so that the Chosen People were to be a

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46. Isaiah 60:19, 20; 65:17-25.

47. Ibid., 63:1-6.



elements of worship.

To Trito-Israelish the Temple, its sacrificial worship, and the law, occupied a place of importance quite unrecognized by the earlier prophets. In his denunciations of sin as the law which separated Jewish from the people, his call to repentance, and his insistence that there could be no forgiveness for those who lead unworthy lives and whose worship was in-almos, Trito-Israelish followed in the steps of the pre-exilic prophets.

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46. Isaiah 60:12, 61:1-10.  
47. Isaiah 60:1-10.

nation of priests.<sup>48</sup> The idea of Israel's mission to the world was not wholly lost, but this also centered in the Temple, it was to be a "house of prayer for all nations."<sup>49</sup>

The great hopes of Trito-Isaiah fell short of Deutero-Isaiah's highest visions, but his activity was of the utmost importance. He was able to put new hopes into the hearts of his people. He helped them to look beyond the sordid cares of the present and the disheartening pettiness of the day to the golden future where life would be glorified, sorrow and care forgotten, joy and peace never ending. While there was but little of originality in the teaching of Trito-Isaiah he rendered a great service by filling men's hearts with a divine discontent with the present, an ardent hope for the future, and a firm belief in God and the certain fulfilment of His purpose.

#### D. Malachi: Faithfulness in the dark hours.

It is now generally agreed that "Malachi" is not the name of an actual man. The book is really anonymous, and "Malachi," "My Messenger," or "My Angel" is a title prefixed by an editor to whom it was suggested by the "my messenger" of 3:1.

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48. Isaiah 61:6.

49. Ibid., 56:7; 66:23.





Malachi, like Haggai and Zechariah, was chiefly interested in the Temple and the priesthood, not necessarily from any personal leaning to sacerdotalism, but because the sanctuary and its ministers were the focus of the religious life of his time. It is evident from the book of Malachi that even the "righteous" of the community at Jerusalem gave way to depression and discontent. The result was that faith in the efficacy of sacrifice was undermined. The priests carried out their duties with extreme reluctance, while laymen avoided their obligations whenever they could.<sup>50</sup> There was an increase in the number of marriages between the Jews, who had returned from the exile, and the influential families of the neighborhood, even if heathen.<sup>51</sup>

The writer of the book of Malachi sets himself to the task of proving, one by one, that these grievances were unfounded. As a rule he approached the problems of his day from the ritualistic point of view. There was only one condition under which prosperity of the nation would be restored. Sacrifices must be regularly offered to Yahweh and accepted by him. The offerings could not be accepted if a blemished animal was brought to the altar, if the priests were lacking in zeal, or if the tithe offerings were not paid.<sup>52</sup>

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50. Malachi 1:6-2; 9; 3:7-12.

51. Ibid., 2:11-22.

52. Ibid., 1:6-8, 12-14; 3:7-12.

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50. Malachi 1:6-14; 2:13-16.  
 51. Ibid., 2:11-12.  
 52. Ibid., 1:8-9, 13-14; 2:7-13.

The prophet's attitude here was not that of a man to whom ritual is an end itself. He was not distressed about mere lapses in ceremonial etiquette, such as the offering of the wrong sort of incense. The faults condemned imply a lack of reverence and devotion to God. Like Ezekiel and Zechariah, Malachi held that the well-being of Israel depended on the presence of Yahweh in His Temple. The prophet, in his message, clearly implied that the sins of the people still keep Him aloof.<sup>53</sup>

Malachi's estimation of the importance of ritual and tithes was in marked contrast to the teaching of the older prophets. Yet he took note of the moral rectitude of the priests and he echoed the denunciations uttered by his predecessors against sorcerers, adulterers, perjurers, against those who oppress the hireling in his wages, and against those who dealt unjustly with the "stranger."<sup>54</sup> In his teaching concerning the sanctity of marriage, he anticipated that of Christ.<sup>55</sup>

In discussing the problem of the sufferings of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked, his solution was, that everything would be set right in the Day of Yahweh. By the time, this anonymous prophet wrote, the Messianic

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53. Malachi 3:1.

54. Ibid., 3:1-5.

55. Ibid., 2:10, 13-16.





anticipation of the establishment of a prosperous state under the restored Davidic dynasty had fallen into the background. The hopes of the prophet for his people now centered in the direct intervention of Yahweh in the Day of Yahweh.<sup>56</sup> But this Day of Yahweh, according to Malachi, was not to come as soon as earlier prophets had stated, for there were certain conditions which had to be fulfilled before Yahweh finally would intervene. The Angel of Yahweh would first come to purify the sons of Levi, the Priesthood. Moreover, Malachi's own ministry was not even in his own eyes full of prophetic value, nor could Israel now produce any prophet like those of ancient times. It was Elijah who must return and heal the discords of the people, before the time was ripe for the great Day of Judgment and Deliverance.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile God was mindful of His faithful. "A book of remembrance is written before Him, for them that feared Yahweh, and thought upon His name."<sup>58</sup>

In the prophet, we call Malachi, we find further indications of the decline and fall of prophecy. He was, in fact, hardly a prophet, in the strict sense of one, who revealed the will of Yahweh for his own times. "He is above all a preacher, a moralist who is trying to instil God's will

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56. Malachi 3:1; 4:1-3.

57. Ibid., 4:4-6.

58. Ibid., 3:16.

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this Day of Yahweh, according to Malachi, was not to come as  
soon as earlier prophets had stated, for there were certain  
conditions which had to be fulfilled before Yahweh finally  
would intervene. The Agent of Yahweh would first come to  
purify the sons of Levi, the Priests. Moreover, Malachi's  
own ministry was not even in his own eyes full of prophetic  
value, nor could Israel now produce any prophet like those of  
ancient times. It was Elijah who must return and lead the  
disciples of the people, before the time was ripe for the  
great Day of Judgment and Reformation.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile God was  
kindling of his faithful. "A book of remembrance is written  
before him, for them that feared Yahweh, and thought upon His  
name."<sup>58</sup>

In the prophet, we call Malachi, we find further in-  
dications of the healing and Fall of prophecy. He was, in  
fact, hardly a prophet, in the strict sense of one, who  
revealed the will of Yahweh for his own times. "He is above  
all a preacher, a moralist who is trying to lead God's will

56. Malachi 3:1; 4:1-5.  
57. Ibid., 4:4-5.  
58. Ibid., 3:16.



into minds already familiar with it, an advocate of a written law and an eschatology already defined."<sup>59</sup> The manner of his preaching differentiates him still further from former prophets. His book is composed of a series of debates, with statements, counterstatements, and replies. He did not proceed from one revelation to another but he developed an argument. There is a freshness in the lively debates which he presented, which makes his book interesting reading.

How much impression the intense earnestness of this priestly prophet made on the people, we do not know. The economic forces that he opposed were too strong. More than the preaching of a prophet was needed to change these conditions. Outside help was necessary. It came with Nehemiah and Ezra and the large body of earnest Jews who came with them from Babylonia. But Malachi had prepared the way for them.<sup>60</sup>

### 3. THE ERA OF REFORM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEGALISM.

#### A. Nehemiah: The rebuilding of the wall and his religious reforms.

From the book of Nehemiah, it would seem that during the century after the return, the party of laxity was in control, a party which, if nominally accepting the Deuteronomic law as its code, interpreted it as permitting friendly relations,

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59. Lods, Israel, p. 278.

60. Bewer, op. cit., p. 258.



including marital intercourse, with the surrounding peoples. This is what one might expect due to the fact that the Jews of Palestine during this century were mainly the peasantry. The religion of Judah before the exile, as we know it in the Book of Deuteronomy, had been the religion of Jerusalem. It had been imposed upon the country folk, but it had not yet become part of their life. They were more conservative than the city-dwellers and clung more tenaciously to the older religious traditions, customs, and superstitions. They were still largely adherents in practice of the pre-Deuteronomic religion.

This party of laxity was strengthened also by a Samaritan element. The Samaritans and Jews constituted practically one community worshipping at the Temple in Jerusalem.

It would appear also from the Book of Nehemiah that during the century referred to, a strong party had been built up, probably as a result of the influence of Babylonian Judaism, favoring a more exclusive attitude, a stricter ritualism, and a more exact legalism. Jerusalem was the center of the strength of this party. Here, the returned exiles centered around the Temple. This party maintained the Ezekielian view of the superiority of the Jews of Babylonia. The essential element of the controversy between the two parties had to do with exclusiveness and prohibition of intermarriage with the neighboring peoples, which involved



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also the question of the admission or the exclusion of the Samaritans as part of Israel.

At the court of Artaxerxes I a Jew, named Nehemiah, had come to occupy the important position of cupbearer to the king.<sup>61</sup> During the year 444, Nehemiah received information from some of the Palestinian Jews of the distressing conditions in the home land. Especially disconcerting to Nehemiah, was the fact that the walls of the city had been broken down. We may gather from the words of Nehemiah 1:3 "and the gates thereof are burned with fire," that this was a recent occurrence. It seems quite probable that what is here referred to is described more fully in Ezra 4:6-23. The inhabitants of Jerusalem had started to rebuild the wall and such an undertaking was regarded with suspicion by those in authority in Samaria. A letter was addressed by them and sent to Artaxerxes I stating that the royal interests would be jeopardized if steps were not taken to counteract what was being done. The king replied by giving orders that the work was to cease.<sup>62</sup> As a result, the Samaritans, "went in haste to Jerusalem unto the Jews, and made them to cease by force and power."<sup>63</sup>

It was this occurrence, therefore, which was reported

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61. Nehemiah 2:1.

62. Ezra 4:21, 22.

63. Ibid., 4:23.

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81. Nehemiah 1:1.  
82. Ezra 4:21, 22.  
83. Ibid., 4:23.



to Nehemiah by Hanani and his friends in Nehemiah 1:1-3. To Nehemiah, it appeared plain that any scheme of reform which would make the Temple what, in his estimation, it should be, could never be enforced so long as the walls of Jerusalem were in ruins.

It is interesting to note the human touch in the way in which Nehemiah secured permission to return to Judah. He broached the subject at a time when the king was in a good humor over his wine. The king noticed the downcast look on Nehemiah's face and inquired what ailed him. Nehemiah then folded his tale and begged the king's permission to go to Judah that he might repair the damage which had been done in Jerusalem, the city of his fathers. Permission was granted to him, and royal authority.

When Nehemiah arrived in Jerusalem he at once set about his task by undertaking a preliminary survey of the situation. We are told, that Nehemiah went at night to examine the extent of the damage. Noticeable, is the fact, that Nehemiah kept his purpose secret.<sup>64</sup>

The impression we are given in Nehemiah 2:18, that the building of the walls was undertaken with eagerness by the people, betrays the hand of the Chronicler. The Jewish leaders, as a whole, opposed the building of the walls but the Chronicler could not bring himself to believe that Nehemiah

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64. Nehemiah 2:16.

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building of the walls was undertaken with eagerness by the  
people, betrays the hand of the Greekist. The Jewish  
leaders, as a whole, opposed the building of the walls but the  
Greekist could not bring himself to believe that Jerusalem

should not have been received with open arms by all the heads of the Jewish community. Nehemiah met the opposition with undaunted courage and boldness and his strong personality gained many to his side, so that the work was undertaken with vigor. But it was hardly to be expected that the Samaritans would acquiesce without some attempt to prevent it. Their leader was Sanballat who, as we learned from one of the Elephantine papyri, was governor of Samaria; with him were associated Tobiah, an Ammonite, and Geshem, an Arabian.<sup>65</sup> The opposition, so far as Sanballat and his followers were concerned, is merely described as mockery. It says, in Nehemiah 4:8, that Sanballat and his followers "conspired all of them to come and fight against Jerusalem, and to cause confusion there," but nowhere is it said that any actual attack was made. It is difficult to believe, that the governor of one province would attack the governor of another province, who had the king's authority for what he was doing.

The real opposition to Nehemiah's work seems to have been caused by those among his own people rather than by intruders from the outside. Nehemiah, however, overcame all obstacles and the rebuilding of the walls was successfully completed. The time taken in doing this work is stated, in Nehemiah 6:15, to have been less than a couple of months. That, on first thought, seems to be impossible. There is no

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65. Nehemiah 6:1.



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reason to believe, that the entire length of the walls was destroyed when the city was taken by Nebuzaradan.<sup>66</sup> Then, also, it is highly probable that some repairing had been accomplished before Nehemiah had come to Jerusalem. It may, therefore, be justifiably assumed that only parts of the wall needed restoration, in which case, fifty-two days might well have sufficed.

After the walls were finished, Nehemiah took measures to secure a population for the city and to build up some sort of national spirit and some sense of civic responsibility.<sup>67</sup> A large number of people were practically slaves to a small number of landholders and capitalists. Their lands had passed or were passing out of their hands, and their children had become slaves to satisfy the lust and the greed of a privileged class. Nehemiah partly persuaded, partly compelled a release of debts, a restitution of lands, and a system of loans without interest to poor Jews.<sup>68</sup> In so doing, he created new laws, which were later embodied in the Priestly Code.

In Nehemiah 13:6, it is incidentally mentioned that in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes (432 B.C.), Nehemiah returned to the court. When he left, he appointed two

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66. 2 Kings 25:10.

67. Nehemiah 11:1-3.

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reliable men, Hanani, his brother, and Hananiah, in charge over Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup>

"After certain days,"<sup>70</sup> Nehemiah obtained permission to return to Jerusalem and was reappointed as governor. It was during his second visit, that he appeared as a religious reformer. His second administration of office was marked by a practical enforcement of the principles of the exclusive Babylonian party. He drove out of the Temple precincts all foreigners and cleansed the chamber occupied by Tobiah, whose presence there was regarded as a pollution by Nehemiah.<sup>71</sup> During Nehemiah's absence, the priesthood saw no objection to this foreigner taking part in the Temple worship, and actually living within the Temple precincts. During this time the friendly feeling which the Jews of Judah had all along entertained towards their northern brethren, continued to be fostered. As soon as Nehemiah returned the separatist policy was again adopted.

Nehemiah's next move was the insistence on the proper rendering of the tithe, which had been neglected in the past.<sup>72</sup> Further, there was his zeal for Sabbath observance.<sup>73</sup> Finally, there was the subject of mixed marriages.<sup>74</sup> Nehemiah did not insist on the Jews divorcing their foreign wives but he made

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69. Nehemiah 7:1-3.

70. Ibid., 13:6.

71. Ibid., 13:7-9.

72. Ibid., 13:10-14.

73. Ibid., 13:15-22.

74. Ibid., 13:23-27.



them swear that they would not in the future permit their sons and daughters to marry non-Jews.

Our record of Nehemiah's activity ceases somewhat abruptly, and nothing further is said about him. We have no idea as to how long he continued in Judah, or whether he ever returned to the court of Artaxerxes.

#### B. Ezra: The establishment of the Law and religious reforms.

According to a genealogy, in Ezra 7:1-5, Ezra belonged to a High-Priestly family. This particular genealogy goes back to Aaron and was taken from, I Chronicles 6:3-14, with the excision of six generations. That this genealogy is not to be taken seriously, will be granted, when it is seen that only fifteen generations were reckoned for a period of something approaching a thousand years. It is interesting to note that in this genealogy, Seraiah, who, according to 2 Kings 25:18-21, Jeremiah 52:24-27, was put to death immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, was reckoned as the father of Ezra. This genealogy seems to be the work of the Chronicler, who felt that, in regard to such a personality as Ezra, it was necessary that a genealogy should be presented which went back a long way. That Ezra was a priest, appears from 7:12, 21, where he is also described as a scribe of the Law. The very nature of his work bears this out.



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According to the narrative of the Chronicler, Nehemiah had been preceded in 458 by Ezra.<sup>74a</sup> This fact, however, does not conform to other information secured in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. None of those named as returning with Ezra<sup>74b</sup> are mentioned as helping Nehemiah to build the walls of Jerusalem.<sup>74c</sup> The original "memoirs" of both Nehemiah and Ezra represent each as working independently, with no mention of the work of the other.<sup>74d</sup> When we come to Ezra 9:9 it pre-supposes the work of Nehemiah, for it mentions not only the rebuilding of the ruined Temple but also that of the wall. From Nehemiah 13:23ff. we learn that Nehemiah forbid the marriage of Jews with foreign women in the future but he did not require existent marriages of the kind to be cancelled. Ezra, however, required the Jews to divorce their foreign wives,<sup>74e</sup> a much more drastic action, explicable after the failure of the first, but less easily before it. From information given us in the Elephantine papyri we know that Jochanan was high priest in 408.<sup>74f</sup> Jochanan was a contemporary of Ezra<sup>74g</sup> and the grandson of Eliashib,<sup>74h</sup> the contemporary of Nehemiah.<sup>74i</sup> In view of these facts we shall certainly place the work of Ezra after that of Nehemiah.

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74a. Ezra 7:7.

74b. Ibid., 8:1-14.

74c. Nehemiah 3.

74d. Oesterley, op. cit., II5.

74e. Ezra 10:3ff.

74f. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, xxx, 18; xxxi, 17.

74g. Ezra 10:6.

74h. "Son" in Ezra 10:6 means "grandson" as in Genesis 29:5.

74i. Nehemiah 13:4, 7, 28.





The simplest assumption is that "in the seventh year of Artaxerxes" <sup>74j</sup> referred originally to the second king of that name (404-358), so that Ezra came to Jerusalem in 397. The Chronicler may have placed him before Nehemiah under the influence of a natural inclination to give priority to the work of the priest over that of the secular governor.

The letter, written in Aramaic, which was given to Ezra by Artaxerxes II granting him permission to go to Jerusalem, <sup>75</sup> betrays the Chronicler's characteristic marks. While it may well be that a royal permission was issued, it is quite certain that it must have been a writing of a very different kind from that we now have.

The details of the work of Ezra are far more scanty than those given of the work of Nehemiah. On arrival in Jerusalem Ezra's first care was to place the gold and silver vessels, which had been presented for use in the Temple, into the charge of Meremoth, the son of Uriah, the priest.<sup>76</sup>

The first phase of Ezra's activity had to do with the problem of mixed marriages. Nehemiah had already sought to rectify the difficulty, but a complete reform had not been brought about. According to Ezra 10:16-19, Ezra succeeded fully in inducing every one who had married a foreign woman

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<sup>74j</sup>. Ezra 7:7.

<sup>75</sup>. Ezra 7:12-26.

<sup>76</sup>. Ibid., 8:33.

The following information is from "In the seventh year of  
 the reign of the Emperor" (1877-78), as the first case is mentioned in 1877. The  
 Emperor's son had placed his father's name under the  
 influence of a natural inclination to give priority to the  
 work of the priest over that of the secular governor.  
 The latter, written in Arabic, which was given to him  
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to put her away. He acted here much more drastically than Nehemiah, who did no more than exact a promise that in the future the Jews would not permit their children to intermarry with foreigners.<sup>77</sup> What both Ezra and Nehemiah were trying to do was to enforce in Palestine what every Babylonian Jew, who had remained faithful to his religion, had been taught to regard as essential, i. e. separateness from those of different race and religion.

The central and most important part of Ezra's work was the promulgation of the new Law. The date for the reading of the new Law is unfortunately unknown to us, for we only know that it was the first day of the seventh month<sup>78</sup> and that a general assembly of the nation was held at the Water Gate. Ezra here read aloud from a platform the "Book of the Law," the same book, apparently, which he had brought with him to Jerusalem. Two weeks later, the Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated in conformity with the law.<sup>79</sup> Nothing like it had been done since the days of Joshua.

What is to be understood by "the book of the law of Moses" which was read, is a matter of uncertainty; and different opinions are held by scholars. That it was the Pentateuch is too improbable to merit serious consideration.

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77. Nehemiah 13:25.

78. Nehemiah 8:1.

79. Ibid., 8:16-18.



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77. Nehemiah 13:23.  
78. Nehemiah 8:1.  
79. Ibid., 8:18-19.

Some hold that it was the Priestly Code, not in its present completed form, but such parts of it as had been formulated in Babylonia. Just how much this included is, of course, impossible to say. Others believe that it was the "Law of Holiness."<sup>80</sup> In favor of this theory, is the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles which was kept as a result of the reading of the law-book, and which is prescribed in Leviticus 23:39-43. The probability is, that Ezra's law-book was the Priestly Code, in so far as it had been developed in Babylon.

It is quite improbable that the new Law was from the outset carried out in the extreme manner recorded in the book of Ezra. Ezra and Nehemiah, as historical documents recounting this reform, stand toward it in very much the same position as our present book of Joshua stands toward the actual facts of the conquest of Canaan. In this document, what was spread out over centuries was recorded as occurring in a lifetime, so here the final results of Ezra's reformation are related as its immediate accomplishment.

### C. The Priestly Code and Priestly Redaction of the Pentateuch.

Ezekiel, during the exile, had realized that the restoration of Israel and its religion must center around the Temple. As the Jews came back from captivity, the Temple

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80. Leviticus 17-26.

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C. The Priestly Code and Priestly Restoration of the Temple.

Haggai, during the exile, had realized that the restoration of Israel and the religion must center around the Temple. As the Jews came back from captivity, the Temple



became the rallying ground of the new community. Judah was no longer a nation but a Persian province. Its only hope of independent and effective organization lay in religion, with which the Persian government as a rule did not interfere. Judah must therefore be organized as a theocracy, which was to be symbolized and realized in a hierocracy. The priests must be the leaders, the high priest, as God's direct representative, the visible head of the people.

Ezekiel and the compiler of the Holiness Code had begun to preserve the temple ritual. Others followed them, compiling, systematizing, and reforming laws and usages in accordance with Judah's changed conditions. The result was the Priestly Code, Abbreviated P, in which a priestly author about 500 B.C. gathered together in one document the work thus far accomplished. The Priestly Code was not merely a law book, but it combined history with law. It contained a brief outline narrative of the nation's history from the creation to Joshua. The author was not primarily interested in writing a history, for the only function of the history was to provide the framework for the establishing of ritual and legal institutions.

When the Priestly Code was adopted by the solemn assembly of the people under the leadership of Ezra<sup>81</sup> as a part of the

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81. Nehemiah 8-10.

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When the Priestly Code was adopted by the solemn assembly of the people under the leadership of Ezra<sup>81</sup> as a part of the

fundamental law of the church-state of Judah, the Holiness Code had already been incorporated in it.<sup>82</sup> There were, however, characteristic modifications and additions to bring it into harmony with P. Whether Ezra himself was responsible for its insertion, or for any part of the composition of P, we do not know.

Soon after Ezra, many additions to the Priestly Code were made. In the course of time, a collection of laws concerning sacrifices<sup>83</sup> and another on ritual cleanness<sup>84</sup> were added. When the day of atonement became the climax of the great system of expiation, the ritual concerning it was introduced.<sup>85</sup> The institution of the year of jubilee was also incorporated in the new code of laws.<sup>86</sup> The interest in the priesthood led to the prohibition for the priests of drinking wine or other intoxicants before the services in the Temple,<sup>87</sup> and of several regulations concerning the Levites.<sup>88</sup> The main additions to P's narrative consisted of a few genealogies and lists; the stories of the stoning of a man for blasphemy and of another for Sabbath breaking; the order of the march;

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82. Leviticus 17-26.

83. Ibid., 1-7.

84. Ibid., 11-15.

85. Ibid., 16.

86. Ibid., 25:8-13, 15, 16, 26-34, 40b, 41, 44-46, 50-52,  
54.

87. Ibid., 10:6-11

88. Numbers 1:48-54; 3:5ff; 4:5-26; 16:8-11; 17:1-5.



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82. Leviticus 17-26.  
 83. Ibid. 1-7.  
 84. Ibid. 11-15.  
 85. Ibid. 16.  
 86. Ibid. 25:8-12, 18, 19, 20-24, 40b, 41, 44-46, 50-52.  
 87. Ibid. 10:8-11.  
 88. Numbers 1:48-54; 2:21; 4:5-26; 16:9-11; 17:1-8.

additions to the Korah story; the stories of the seal of Phineas and of the raid against Midian; the record of Israel's journeyings; the assignment of territory to the sons of Machir by Moses; and the story of the altar beyond Jordan.<sup>89</sup>

The spirit pervading P was that of the priestly standpoint. The writers were priests and their theological ideas were far in advance of JE. One has only to compare the two creation stories to see this.<sup>90</sup> For P, God was more transcendent and less anthropomorphic, than in E. The long process of purging the ancient tales of all heathen and inferior ideas was brought by P to a successful completion.

The Law was both moral and ritual but P did not work out the moral side because his primary concern was ritual. He did not regard the moral as non-essential but he presupposed it. The incorporation of the moral and social laws of Leviticus 19 (H) and the institution of the year of jubilee (Leviticus 25) show that social values were by no means neglected by P. The priests had tried to solve the difficult problem of the concentration of the landed property in the hands of a few but without much success. The priestly writers tried to solve it by the legal establishment of the year of jubilee. In spite of this law it was never carried out in practice.

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89. Genesis 36:1-5, 9-30; 40:8-27; Exodus 6:14-25; Numbers 10:13-28; 16:8-11; 17:1-5; 25:6-18; 31-33.

90. Genesis 1-2:4a (P); 2:4b-24 (J).

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82. Genesis 22:1-5, 8-20; 40:8-27; Exodus 2:14-25;  
 Numbers 10:14-28; 16:1-5; 22:2-16; 31-35.  
 83. Genesis 1:2-5 (E); 2:4-25 (JE).



The priests had ultimately the same aim as the prophets. They wanted to make the people acceptable to God. The prophets had insisted that this could be done only by morality but the priests believed it could best be accomplished by ritual holiness. Obedience was to the priest, as to the prophet, the all important concern, but it was not obedience to the voice of conscience, the inner law of which Jeremiah had spoken, but obedience to all those outward regulations, which they imposed on the people as the direct command of Yahweh.

For P, there had always been only one legitimate place to worship. This was true even in the days of the wandering in the wilderness for at God's command Moses had prepared the tabernacle where all worship was carried on. What had been accomplished only after a long historical development P presented as existing from Moses' time on. The tabernacle was the pattern of the later Temple at Jerusalem, and all cultic worship was possible only there.

P simply ignored the whole long development of the priesthood for he had the hierarchy established by Moses. The office of the high priest was also instituted by Moses according to P.

The whole cult had been instituted by Moses, P taught. It was designed for the expiation of sin. The object of every sacrifice was atonement. The expiatory character of the cult also dominated the festivals. In P, they had lost their

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character of gratitude and joy to a large extent. They were not freed from all connections with nature and its seasons. The cult was no longer the spontaneous expression of the religious mind, but the definite form in which one must approach Yahweh in order to gain atonement. The sin-offering, which before the exile was virtually unknown, assumed now remarkable importance.

The disciplining of the whole life by all these cultic regulations was not an easy task. For many, it was a heavy yoke. It placed a heavy economic burden on many. The entire cost of the Temple with its sacrifices and clergy had to be borne by the people. A tax of half a shekel yearly was imposed upon every one "for the service of the tent of meeting."<sup>91</sup> The support of priests and Levites was costly too for they received not only their definite portions of the sacrifices but the tithes<sup>92</sup> and part of the booty.<sup>93</sup> As the system grew the expense became so large that all sorts of extra requirements were demanded. Trespass-offerings were an illustration. If we consider in addition, the free will offerings and especially the vows, whose payment was rigidly enforced,<sup>94</sup> we get some idea of the heavy economic burden the cultic system became.

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91. Exodus 30:11ff.

92. Numbers 18; Leviticus 27:30-33.

93. Ibid., 31:28ff.

94. Ibid., 6:30; Leviticus 27.



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91. Exodus 30:11ff.  
92. Numbers 18; Leviticus 27:30-33.  
93. Ibid., 27:38ff.  
94. Ibid., 27:30; Leviticus 27.

P believed in monotheism but not in its universal application. His ideal of holiness for Israel was inherently exclusive. He had no missionary zeal, no love for the heathen. For him, the Jews were the people of the law, separate from the nations, without any sense of obligation to bring the true religion to the peoples of the world.

In spite of the fact that the Priestly Code was adopted under the leadership of Ezra as the fundamental law of Israel, it was not the only sacred book of the Jewish church. The law of Deuteronomy, especially in the edition which had combined JED, was of fundamental authority also. It could not be superseded by P no matter how earnestly the priestly writers might have wished it. In a sense, they felt that they were continuing the same work. They had laid more stress on the priestly and ritual side, it is true, but Deuteronomy claimed to go back to Moses, and they themselves believed that it did. As time went on, they came to the conclusion that P must be joined together with JED in one composite work. In so doing, they exercised wide tolerance for the divergent traditions in JE. In the work, the priestly document gave to the whole its own distinctive tone, for it became the basis or ground work of the compilation. As a rule, the priestly editors gave both P's stories and the other stories side by

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side such as in the story of creation,<sup>95</sup> the story of Abraham's covenant,<sup>96</sup> or the story of Moses's call.<sup>97</sup> At times, both stories were woven together into a single story as in the stories of the deluge,<sup>98</sup> of Israel's flight from Egypt and the passage of the Sea.<sup>99</sup> In this interwoven work, P predominated. When the redactors gave only one story, they took P's and omitted JE's. Sometimes, the combination of the sources necessitated editorial additions and changes, in order to connect or harmonize the various sections. Thus in Genesis 27:46, the editors connected most cleverly JE's story of Jacob's flight to Haran with P's. In Genesis 32:29-31:10, they changed Israel to Jacob on account of Genesis 35:10 (E).

The Pentateuch was completed by at least 330 B.C., for the Samaritans, who seceded from the Jews and built their own Temple on Mount Gerizim, had the Pentateuch in substantially the same form as the Jews. We know that there were minor changes still made after this time, from a comparison with the Greek Bible which was translated about 250 B. C.

In its final form the Pentateuch exerted an influence upon Judaism, Christianity, and Islam which is unparalleled in history. Here the sum of the development of ages, embodying religion and

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95. Genesis 1-2:4a P; 2:4bff. J.

96. Ibid., 15 JE; Genesis 17 P.

97. Exodus 3 JE; Exodus 6 P.

98. Genesis 6-8.

99. Exodus 14.

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- 95. Genesis 1-2:4a; 2:4b-11.
  - 96. 12:1-13; Genesis 17:1.
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  - 98. Genesis 6-8.
  - 99. Exodus 14.

cosmology, ethics and jurisprudence, was combined in an imposing form. The whole was attributed to Moses, the founder of Israel and of its religion. It was the great Book, the Bible, for the people.<sup>100</sup>

#### 4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXCLUSIVISM AND THE REACTION AGAINST IT.

##### A. The Samaritan schism.

For an understanding of the relationship of the Jews and the Samaritans during this period, it is necessary to keep in mind certain elements in the earlier history of the attitude of the northern and southern kingdoms towards each other. The enmity, which in early times had existed between the Joseph and the Judah tribes, and later between the northern and southern kingdoms, was always of a political character. Racial or religious differences were not, at this time, the cause of antagonism for both recognized that they came from the same stock and both practised the same religion. With the fall of the northern kingdom in 722, the deported captives consisted of a comparatively moderate number. The great bulk of the Israelites were left in what had been the northern kingdom. From this time to the Babylonian exile, and even during the exile, there is much evidence to show that the Samaritans and Judaeans were on friendly terms, regarding themselves as brethren and holding the same religion.

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100. Bewer, op. cit., p. 278.



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If the theory, which I have put forward is true that the reason for Nehemiah's journey to Jerusalem was the attack on the city and the damage done on the walls,<sup>101</sup> as recorded in Ezra 4:6-23, then it is in this passage that we get information of the first overt act of enmity between the Samaritans and the Jews. This trouble took place shortly before Nehemiah's arrival and we can date the actual beginning of hostility between Jews and Samaritans as having taken place about the year 445. No doubt the feeling of antagonism had been growing some time before this. The exclusiveness of exilic Judaism, as represented by the returned exiles, could not fail to arouse bitterness when it came into direct touch with the less developed form of Judaism as practiced by the Samaritans. In Ezra 4:6-23, we get the first definite indication of the result of this.

While religious differences were involved in the quarrel, it was not the only factor. The traditional enmity between the north and south had its part to play. In Ezra 4:6-23, there is no hint of religious animosity on the part of the Samaritans for here the matter is purely a political one. The leaders at Samaria had hoped that some day Judah would be incorporated in their realm of authority. They must not have

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101. Nehemiah 1:3.

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looked with much favor when the returned exiles were increasing the population of the southern province and steps were being taken to fortify the capitol once more. Envy and fear were the natural result and this is what we have recorded in Ezra 4:6-23. Obviously, nothing is said in this passage of the friendly relation which had existed all along between the "people of the land" and the Samaritans.

By the time of Nehemiah, the antagonism between the orthodox Jews, as distinct from the "people of the land," and the Samaritans was already in full play. The rebuilding of the wall only intensified the bitterness.

Tobiah, one of the leaders of the Israelites in Samaria, who was most hostile to Nehemiah, had a room in the Temple at Jerusalem. This room had been given him by the high priest Eliashib. Nehemiah, it must be confessed, deprived him of the room<sup>102</sup> but this fact only goes to show that, even as late as Nehemiah's second return to Palestine, the Samaritans considered themselves, and were considered by the religious authorities in office at Jerusalem, as legitimate members of the assembly of Jahweh.

In Tobiah, Nehemiah had an enemy of long standing. It does not necessarily follow that Nehemiah drove him away because he was a Samaritan. In view of Tobiah's joint action

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102. Nehemiah 13:6-9.

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with Sanballat in the matter of the building of the wall, it could well be that Nehemiah did not wish to have a prominent enemy in Jerusalem, rather than he drove him out because he feared the Temple precincts would be polluted by the presence of an alien.

The first indication we have that Nehemiah regarded intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews inadvisable is in Nehemiah 13:23-31. Here the primary objection seemed to be that the children of these unions were forgetting their native tongue. Nehemiah is not advocating separation but only the enforcement of an oath that such marriages shall not be contracted in the future. There is no word against Samaritans, as such.

The conflict must have become sharper when the more rigidly orthodox undertook to exclude from the assembly all who were not of pure Israelite blood. They told that the Samaritans were a mongrel race transplanted to the province of Samaria by the Assyrians after all the Israelites had been taken into exile. Hence the Jews of Jerusalem looked upon the northern Jews as half-castes, who had only embraced the faith of Yahweh after their arrival in Palestine. This story got eventually into the Book of Kings<sup>103</sup> but the facts have obviously been manipulated to suit the author's point of view.

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103. 2 Kings 17:24-41.



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The Old Testament gives us no information about the Samaritans having separated themselves from the Jews or of their having formed a separate community of their own. But that such a separation took place is a matter of history.

It is often held that the schism took place as the result of the dismissal by Nehemiah of a grandson of the high priest Eliashib, for having married a daughter of Sanballat.<sup>104</sup> Long afterwards, Josephus writes,<sup>105</sup> that his name was Manasseh and his wife's name Nicaso, and that Sanballat compensated his son-in-law for the loss of his priestly inheritance in Jerusalem by building for him a rival temple on Mount Gerizim, of which Manasseh became the first high priest. We do not know the exact date that the temple was built but many scholars believe that it was erected somewhere about the middle of the fourth century. While Josephus' history is quite unreliable on account of his hopelessly confused chronology, it is intrinsically probable that Nehemiah 13:28, on which his account is based, may point to the original cause of the actual schism, which, in the course of time, resulted in the building of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim.

B. Ruth: God is no respecter of race and nationality.

In the fight against mixed marriages, Nehemiah and Ezra

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104. Nehemiah 8:28.

105. Josephus, Antiq. XI. vii. 2; viii, 2.

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E. Bickel: Had is no testator of race and nationality.  
in the fight against mixed marriages, Nehemiah and Ezra



won out. But there were also men of broader sympathies. To one of them, we owe the book of Ruth. Goethe declared it to be "the loveliest little whole, that has been preserved to us among the epics and idyls."<sup>106</sup>

It is the story of a family of Bethlehem who, driven by famine, established a home in Moab,<sup>107</sup> where the two sons married Moabitish wives.<sup>108</sup> In course of time, the father and the two sons die, and Naomi, old and widowed, resolved to return to her own people. Ruth insisted on going with her in these words:

Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God; where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried: Yahweh do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me.<sup>109</sup>

They arrived in Bethlehem at the beginning of barley harvest and Ruth at once went into the fields to glean after the reapers. She happened on the field of Boaz,<sup>110</sup> a wealthy landowner who was a kinsman of Naomi, who saw her and invited her to glean only in his field, and gave orders to his men to treat her kindly. When Naomi heard in whose field Ruth had gleaned, she devised a plan for bringing Boaz to marry Ruth.

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106. Goethe, as cited by Bewer, op. cit., p. 382.

107. Ruth 1:1.

108. Ibid., 1:4.

109. Ibid., 1:16, 17.

110. Ibid., 2:3.

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The plan Ruth obediently carried out and it proved successful. Boaz declared his wish to marry Ruth. On the morrow, Boaz offered the kinsman's privilege of buying Naomi's field to a nearer relative than himself. The latter, however, refused it upon finding that he must marry Ruth in addition.<sup>111</sup> Thereafter, Boaz and Ruth were married. In due course, Ruth bore a son, and the happy Naomi became his nurse.<sup>112</sup> This son, Obed, became later Jesse's father, and Jesse's son was none other than King David.

"No lesson is appended, nor moral is affixed. The author was far too great an artist for this."<sup>113</sup> The story made plain to every one that God was no respecter of race and nationality. Even a hated Moabite, whom the law would never allow to become a Jew,<sup>114</sup> might be certain of His blessing, if she was only righteous in her life.

This short story was a marvelously effective protest against the reform measures of Ezra, which not only prohibited marriage with aliens, but insisted upon the divorce of all foreign wives.<sup>115</sup>

Though the background of the story was the rough, wild times of the Judges, the writer preserved throughout an atmosphere of Arcadian simplicity. The whole sweep of the

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111. Ruth 4:6.

112. Ibid., 4:16.

113. Bewer, op. cit., p. 284.

114. Deuteronomy 23:3; Nehemiah 13:1-3.

115. Ezra 9-10; Nehemiah 13:23ff.



The plan with absolutely carried out and it proved successful. He decided his wife to marry Ruth. On the morning, he offered the woman's privilege of buying her own life to a nearer relative than himself. The latter, however, refused it upon finding that he must marry Ruth in addition. The latter, after, was and was married. In the course, Ruth bore a son, and the happy woman became his nurse. The son, then, became later Jesse's father, and Jesse's son was none other than King David.

The lesson is appended, not moral is attached. The author was far too great an artist for this. The story made plain to every one that God was no respecter of race and nationality. Even a hated heathen, whom the law would never allow to become a Jew, might be certain of his blessing, if she was only righteous in her life.

This short story was a marvelously effective protest against the reform measures of Rome, which not only prohibited marriage with aliens, but insisted upon the divorce of all foreign wives.

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- 131. Ruth 4:6.
- 132. Ruth 4:18.
- 133. Ruth 4:19.
- 134. Ruth 4:20.
- 135. Ruth 4:21.
- 136. Ruth 4:22.
- 137. Ruth 4:23.
- 138. Ruth 4:24.
- 139. Ruth 4:25.
- 140. Ruth 4:26.

story moved in such experiences as all understand. The beauty and piety of the book are so manifest that, in spite of the fact that the view of the writer and his school did not prevail, the book itself became a favorite and was ultimately incorporated in the canon of sacred literature.

### C. Jonah: God's immeasurable love.

The book of Jonah resembles Ruth in its purpose. It is a protest against the narrow, nationalist tendency of the Jews, according to which they alone were Yahweh's peculiar people and the sole object of His love and care, while the heathen were not only their enemies, but also Yahweh's and merited nothing but punishment and destruction.

The book of Jonah is really a narrative and not a prophecy of Jonah for it is a story about a prophet. Long ago, in the time of Jeroboam II of Israel (784-744), Jonah had lived and prophesied victory and national aggrandizement to that brilliant king.<sup>116</sup> None of his prophecies are preserved, but he was most probably a thorough nationalistic prophet. Why his name was selected to be used in this story we do not know. Perhaps because the name Jonah means "dove" and was often a symbolic name for Israel.

The story was written some time during the fourth century, perhaps about 350 B.C. It was written to satirize

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<sup>116</sup>. II Kings 14:25.

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### C. Jonah: God's Incomprehensible Love.

The book of Jonah resembles much in its purpose. It is a protest against the narrow, nationalistic tendency of the Jews, according to which they alone were Yahweh's peculiar people and the sole object of His love and care, while the heathen were not only their enemies, but also Yahweh's and merited nothing but punishment and destruction.

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Israel for her unwillingness to fulfil her God-given mission. Deutero-Isaiah had taught that Israel's mission was to make God known to the world. All her suffering had been to this end, and was to become a potent means of bringing the nations to realize their sinfulness.<sup>117</sup> The book of Jonah approaches the same great theme in a different way. Jonah, in the story, stands for narrow and exclusive Israel, while Nineveh represents the hated heathen world. It was Israel's mission to be "a light to the Gentiles" but Israel did not respond to the call. She fled from it, as did Jonah. She was swallowed up by Babylon, as Jonah was by the great fish. But she was still unchanged in heart. She was quite willing to pronounce doom upon the heathen, as Jonah did upon Nineveh, but the repentance and redemption of the heathen she could not tolerate. Israel like Jonah had a capacity for affection, as is evidenced by Jonah's concern for the gourd.

Thou hast had regard for the gourd,  
for which thou hast not labored, neither  
madest it grow, which came up on a night  
and perished in a night; and I should not  
have pity on Nineveh, that great city, in  
which are more than six score thousand  
persons that cannot discern between their  
right hand and their left; and also much  
cattle.<sup>118</sup>

With this question the story closes. The author does not tell us whether Jonah was convinced by the irresistible

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<sup>117</sup>. Isaiah 52:13-53:12.

<sup>118</sup>. Jonah 4:10, 11.

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Thou hast had regard for the goat,  
for which thou hast not labored, neither  
didst it grow, which came up on a night  
and perished in a night: and I should not  
have pity on Nineveh, that great city, in  
which are more than six score thousand  
persons that cannot discern between their  
right hand and their left; and also much  
cattle. 4:11.

With this question the story closes. The author does not tell us whether Jonah was convinced by the irrefragable

argument. It is not Jonah, but every reader that must answer the question.

In this story, the whole attitude of Jonah is held up to ridicule. With satire and humor, the author prods his unwilling compatriots to the performance of the duty which Deutero-Isaiah had portrayed with such pathos and sympathy. But the people did not respond. Peake well says "That out of the stony heart of Judaism such a book should have come is nothing less than a marvel of divine grace."<sup>119</sup>

#### J. THE DEVELOPMENT OF APOCALYPTICISM.

##### Joel: The outpouring of the spirit.

Apocalypticism, or Messianism was the natural outgrowth of prophetism. As Dr. Knudson says, "between the two there is no antithesis. There is more or less of the apocalyptic in all prophecy, and there is more or less of the prophetic in all apocalypse."<sup>120</sup>

The transition from prophecy to apocalypse was a gradual one. A considerable impetus in this direction was given by Ezekiel. It was he, who first set forth the scheme adopted by later writers, according to which there would be a miraculous rebuilding of the Temple.

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<sup>119</sup>. Peake, as cited by Knudson, The Prophetic Movement of Israel, p. 80.

<sup>120</sup>. Knudson, Prophetic Movement of Israel, p. 80.



argument. It is not Jewish, but every reader that must answer the question.

In this story, the whole attitude of Jewish is held up to ridicule. With satire and humor, the author probes his unwilling comparisons to the performance of the duty which Deuterio-Isaiah had portrayed with such pathos and sympathy. But the people did not respond. Eschke well says "That out of the story heart of Judaism such a book should have come is nothing less than a marvel of divine grace." 119

## 2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF APOCALYPTICISM

### 1. The origin of the apocalyptic

Apocalypticism, or Messianism was the natural outgrowth of prophecy. As Dr. Knudsen says, "between the two there is no antithesis. There is more or less of the apocalyptic in all prophecy, and there is more or less of the prophecy in all apocalypses." 120

The transition from prophecy to apocalypses was a gradual one. A considerable impetus in this direction was given by Eschke. It was he, who first set forth the scheme adopted by later writers, according to which there would be a mysterious rebuilding of the Temple.

119. Eschke, as cited by Knudsen, The Prophetic Movement of Israel, p. 80.  
120. Knudsen, Prophetic Movement of Israel, p. 80.

In Zechariah's use of the apocalypses he shows a touch of Ezekielian thought, going, however much further in the development of the apocalyptic method. His apocalypses are largely political in character. He is dealing with the conditions of the Persian empire, the possibilities of its overthrow. To have spoken in direct words, would not only have involved himself in danger, but very likely brought disaster upon the whole people. Like Ezekiel, he was influenced by the thought of the Day of Yahweh, the day of judgment upon the foes of Yahweh and of Israel. He did not, however, take the exclusive view which belonged to Ezekiel and which was later more definitely connected with the Babylonian Jewish school of thought.

In Trito-Isaiah's conception of the future,<sup>121</sup> we have most of the usual features of the Messianic Age; but the Messianic King had disappeared. There is no longer any prospect of deliverance by natural means or human agents. The hope of Israel now lies in the direction of personal intervention of Yahweh. He will give peace, prosperity and glory to His people and will destroy their enemies, especially Edom;<sup>122</sup> and make the Gentiles their servants.

For Malachi, like Trito-Isaiah, his hope for his people centered in the direct intervention of Yahweh in the Day of

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121. Isaiah 60:19,20; 65:17-25.

122. Ibid., 63:1-6.

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Yahweh.<sup>123</sup> The prospect of this intervention was not as immediate as expressed by the earlier prophets. Malachi believed that there must be certain conditions fulfilled before Yahweh would finally intervene. The Angel of Yahweh must first come to purify the sons of Levi, the Priesthood. Elijah must also return to heal the discords of the people before the great Day of Judgment and Deliverance could take place.<sup>124</sup>

Now we turn to the book of Joel. Concerning the prophet himself, we are simply told that he was "the son of Pethuel."<sup>125</sup> His interest in the temple and sacrifices suggested that he was a priest. The immediate cause of his prophecy was an unprecedented plague of locusts which had recently stripped bare the entire countryside.<sup>126</sup> A vivid description of the plague and the devastated land is given. So overwhelming was the visitation that Joel viewed its occurrence as the immediate forerunner of the Day of Yahweh.<sup>127</sup> He had no explanation of the calamity except as a punishment for the nation's iniquities. Therefore he called for a national "fast and solemn assembly"<sup>128</sup> in which everyone must unite in the prayer, "Spare thy people, O Jehovah."<sup>129</sup> Here again

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123. Malachi 3:1; 4:1-3.

124. Ibid., 4:4-6.

125. Joel 1:1.

126. Ibid., 1:5.

127. Ibid., 2:1.

128. Ibid., 2:15.

129. Ibid., 2:17.



Joel's formalism prevailed, but it was not to be a covering for a recalcitrant Israel. For once, the prophet overcame the priest in him. He exhorted his countrymen:

rend your hearts, and not your garments,  
and turn unto Jehovah your God; for he  
is gracious and merciful, slow to anger,  
and abundant in loving kindness.<sup>130</sup>

The solemn assembly convened, its supplications ascended and in due time the promised relief was obtained.

Joel foresaw another crisis, far greater and more terrible even than the locust plague. This was the awful judgment day of Yahweh on the world. He foretold the great excitement that would seize all classes in these words:

And it shall come to pass afterwards  
that I will pour out my Spirit upon all  
flesh; and your sons and daughters shall  
prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams,  
your young men shall see visions; and also  
upon the servants and upon the handmaids in  
those days will I pour out my Spirit.<sup>131</sup>

The promise of the outpouring of the Spirit as given in this passage is an essential part of Joel's prophetic view of the Day of Yahweh. The prophet here carried out in a new way the idea of a universal consecration of the chosen people, which was inherent in the faith of Israel.

In true apocalyptic fashion, Joel declared that this new religious development would be attended by miraculous

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130. Joel 2:13.

131. Ibid., 2:28, 29.





phenomena in the realm of Nature.

And I will show wonders in the heavens and in the earth; blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of Jehovah cometh.<sup>132</sup>

The prophet went on to say that all those who called on Yahweh's name would be delivered, whether they were in Jerusalem and Judah, or elsewhere.<sup>133</sup>

The final scene is the great day of judgment. After the gathering of Israel to its own land Yahweh will summon the nations to the Valley of Jehoshaphat,<sup>134</sup> which the author doubtless located just under the walls of Jerusalem and in the immediate presence of Yahweh, who dwelt in the Temple. Here Yahweh will call them to account for their treatment of the exiled Israelites. The penalty will be their own sale into slavery by the Jews. The sentence will not be put into execution without a conflict, but Yahweh will be victorious:

And Jehovah will roar from Zion and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the heavens and earth shall shake: but Jehovah will be a refuge unto his people, and a stronghold to the children of Israel. So shall you know that I am Jehovah your God, dwelling in Zion my holy mountain: then shall Jerusalem be holy, and there shall be no strangers pass through her any more.<sup>135</sup>

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132. Joel 2:30, 31.

133. Ibid., 2:32.

134. Ibid., 3:2.

135. Ibid., 3:16, 17.

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132. Joel 2:30, 31.  
133. 131b, 2:32.  
134. 131c, 3:3.  
135. 131d, 3:13, 14.



It is believed that a later editor has added to the end of the book a beautiful, though not original, description of the wonderful fertility of Judah and the wonderful spring that would flow out of the temple, watering the Valley of Shittim, and predicted the ruin of Egypt and Edom, "for the violence done to the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land."<sup>136</sup>

## 6. PERSONAL PIETY

### A. Psalms

In the Psalms we see religion at work in everyday life. The Psalter is the utterance of many individuals of different epochs and out of richly diversified situations. The Psalms were not only the expression of the collective piety of the Jewish community but they left ample room for the display of the religious feelings and needs of the individual. There is no modern type of religious experience but what is mirrored forth, often in classic utterance, in the Psalms.

Taking the Psalms as a whole, they contain the conception of a majestic Yahweh. The piety of the Psalmists was nourished by the greatness of their thoughts of Yahweh.<sup>137</sup> The Psalms abound in striking descriptions of the transcendence of

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<sup>136</sup>. Joel, 3:19.

<sup>137</sup>. Psalms 86:8; 89:7, 97:9.

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### 3. PERSONAL LIFE

#### A. Psalm

In the Psalm we see religion at work in everyday life. The Psalmist is the witness of many individuals of different epochs and out of richly diversified situations. The Psalms were not only the expression of the collective piety of the Jewish community but they left ample room for the display of the religious feelings and needs of the individual. There is no modern type of religious experience but what is mirrored forth, often in classic utterance, in the Psalms. Taking the Psalm as a whole, they contain the conception of a majestic lawgiver. The piety of the Psalmist was nourished by the greatness of their thoughts of law. The Psalm shows in striking descriptions of the transcendence of

Yahweh, his creative power and his rule over the universe.<sup>138</sup>  
 The Yahweh of the Psalms is as living, as near, and is invoked with as great an intimacy as ever the Yahweh of ancient times had been. When a psalmist depicts the awe-inspiring grandeur of God and the nothingness of man, the conclusion he reaches is:- "Put not your trust....in the Son of man, in whom there is no help....Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help."<sup>139</sup>

Yahweh is the creator of man, who fashions man's body with watchful care.<sup>140</sup> He is the maker of Israel, the nation. Israel has not made herself by her struggles against the nations; but Yahweh made her, freeing her from slavery and bringing her out of Egypt,<sup>141</sup> giving her a land of his own,<sup>142</sup> and protecting her against "the nations."<sup>143</sup> The omnipotence<sup>144</sup> of Yahweh is the truth in which the psalmists trust because he is omniscient and everywhere present they know that he will punish the wicked and ensure the triumph of the righteous,<sup>145</sup> and that he will deliver those who trust in his mercy.<sup>146</sup>

Several of the psalms bear witness to the ardent and profound affection which embraced the Temple, the dwelling

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138. Psalms 8, 29, 104, 148.

139. Psalms 146:3, 5.

140. Ibid., 8:4ff; 119:73; 139:13ff.

141. Ibid., 80:8; 81:5, 6.

142. Ibid., 44:1-3.

143. Ibid., 46, 48, 76, 83.

144. Ibid., 33:6-12; 46:9-12; 47:3-4.

145. Ibid., 2:5; 139:7-12; 19-24.

146. Ibid., 33:18-19.





place of Yahweh.<sup>147</sup> The processions and the majestic ceremonial of the ritual were dear to the hearts of all.<sup>148</sup> The Jews of the Dispersion turned in the direction of the Temple to pray,<sup>149</sup> and rejoiced when they could make the pilgrimage to the Holy City.<sup>150</sup>

The truth, beauty, and supreme utility of the Law are themes of which the psalmists love to sing.<sup>151</sup> The writers of the Psalms place special emphasis on the moral demands of the Law,<sup>152</sup> rather than the regulations regarding the clean and the unclean, or the keeping of the Sabbath, which in ages to come were to be considered essential.

From the Psalms we learn that the explanation which the doctrine of retribution affords of the evils of life was not the only one. At times suffering and especially sickness was attributed to the evil influence of an enemy.<sup>153</sup> Occasionally, one will find the explanation that sufferings of the present were a punishment for the sins of the fathers.<sup>154</sup> The conception which predominates in the thoughts of the psalmists is undoubtedly that of immediate individual retribution. In this view the righteous always prosper and are able to escape from

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147. Psalms 43:3.

148. Ibid., 42:5.

149. Ibid., 121:1; I Kings 8:44, 48.

150. Ibid., 84, 122.

151. Ibid., 1; 19:8-14; 37:30; 40:9.

152. Ibid., 34:13-15.

153. Ibid., 22:15-16; 31:4, 10, 11, 13.

154. Ibid., 79:8; 109:14.

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127. Psalm 134:3.  
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132. Psalm 134:3; 135:1-12; 136:1-12.  
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their enemies but the wicked on the contrary, when they fall prey to calamity, succumb, being destined to misfortune, shame, and a premature end.<sup>155</sup> Nevertheless some of the psalmists show a tendency to escape from the narrow confines of established doctrine. The author of Psalm 73 shows a more enlightened spirituality. At the sight of the prosperity of the wicked, he tells us, he had almost lost faith, but his serenity returned when "he went into the sanctuary of God."<sup>156</sup>

Nevertheless I am continually with thee: Thou hast holden my right hand.... Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee. My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart and my portion forever.<sup>157</sup>

This passage and two or three others<sup>158</sup> contain perhaps a hint of immortality.

As one reads the Psalms one is impressed with their directness and reality as prayers. A few Psalms may indeed have been composed for liturgical use, but may have acquired a formal character. A large number were originally private compositions having been applied to public use, and may have had their language generalized. But in far the greatest number, we feel the fresh outpouring of an individual human spirit approaching Yahweh with the cry, "My God."

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155. Psalms 1: 34; 37; 112. etc.

156. Ibid., 73:17a.

157. Ibid., 72: 23, 25-6.

158. Ibid., 16:9-11 (unlikely); 49:16.

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 when have I in heaven but thee? And thine  
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122. Psalm 124: 34; 127: 12; etc.  
 123. Psalm 73: 17-19.  
 124. Psalm 138: 8-12.  
 125. Psalm 138: 8-12 (LXX); 139: 12.

## 7. THE WISDOM TREND

### A. Job: Speculative Reaction

The author of the book of Job was one of those who did not believe that the Deuteronomic or Ezekielian theory of suffering conformed to the facts. He took up the problem of suffering where it had been left by Ezekiel. Ezekiel had come to the conclusion that suffering was an evidence of sin. This had become the orthodox point of view.

The author of the book of Job could not bring himself to the place, where he could believe that every man who died an early or a painful death was a sinner above other men who lived longer, happier, and more successful lives. It just was not true that everyone who died in prosperity, wealth, and happiness was a good man. Just as this was not true in the case of the individual it was likewise not true in the case of nations. But why was it that Israel had so long been oppressed by the Gentiles? The Gentiles were not more righteous than the Israelites; why should they be allowed to triumph? There had been a body of faithful Jews in Jerusalem, in Egypt, and in Babylonia, who had kept the law of God and served Him with all their hearts; why should they still be the prey of the oppressor? Must one give up the belief that God is just? These are questions which the author of the book of Job tried to answer.



## 7. THE WISDOM THEORY

### A. Job: Presumptive Reaction

The author of the book of Job was one of those who did not believe that the Deuteronomistic or Eschatological theory of suffering answered to the facts. He took up the problem of suffering where it had been left by Ezekiel. Ezekiel had come to the conclusion that suffering was an evidence of sin. This had become the orthodox point of view.

The author of the book of Job could not bring himself to the place where he could believe that every man who died an early or a painful death was a sinner above other men who lived longer, happier, and more successful lives. It just was not true that everyone who died in poverty, wealth, and happiness was a good man. Just as this was not true in the case of the individual it was likewise not true in the case of nations. And why was it that Israel had no long been oppressed by the Gentiles? The Gentiles were not more righteous than the Israelites; why should they be allowed to triumph?

There had been a body of faithful Jews in Jerusalem, in Egypt, and in Babylonia, who had kept the law of God and served Him with all their hearts; why should they still be the prey of the oppressors? Must one give up and believe that God is just? These are questions which the author of the book of Job tried to answer.

He took as the subject of his work the old well known story of Job, who though righteous, had to suffer so terribly. The author made it clear that Job was absolutely blameless. Yahweh, Himself, gave him this testimony, "there is none like him on earth, a blameless and upright man, one that fears God and turns from evil."<sup>159</sup> Satan questioned the unselfishness of his piety, "does Job fear God for nought?"<sup>160</sup> Satan wondered if Job would be so profoundly religious if his devotion was not rewarded by prosperity.<sup>161</sup> In order to prove Job's faithfulness Yahweh gave Satan permission to test Job, and a sudden series of disasters fell upon him, which, reduced him to poverty.<sup>162</sup> This did not make him swerve from his loyal submission to Yahweh.<sup>163</sup> Again, Yahweh asks Satan about Job, and the latter retorted that the suffering had not gone deep enough; Job, himself, must be attacked.<sup>164</sup> As a result, grievous and loathsome sickness fell upon Job, and he became an outcast.<sup>165</sup> In spite of his wife's advice he still refused to blame Yahweh. Now his three friends Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, came to comfort him, but, overcome by his misfortunes, they sat long in silence.<sup>166</sup> The author interpreted this silence in the light of the popular doctrine

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159. Job 1:8.

160. Ibid., 1:9.

161. Ibid., 1: 10, 11.

162. Ibid., 1:12-19.

163. Ibid., 1:20-22.

164. Ibid., 2:4-6.

165. Ibid., 2:7-10.

166. Ibid., 2:11-13.





as an indication that they doubted his righteousness.

Job had not yet learned to do without the approval of his friends and as chapter three opens Job gave way to despair and cursed the day of his birth. This opened the debate between Job and his friends on the reason of his suffering. Three times the friends took up Job's arguments, each in his turn. Each time Job answered until finally the friends had nothing to say. Job then makes his last great defence. He pictured his former prosperity and his present misery, and ended with a detailed assertion of the principles that governed his conduct and character. With one great cry, that the Almighty would listen to him, he concluded.

This was followed by the speeches of Elihu and then the Almighty answered. His answer did not refer to Job's particular case, still less to his sin, but by questions which suggested to Job His own power, wisdom, and love, and the ignorance and impotence of man.<sup>167</sup> Job now humbly recognized the inadequacy of his criticism in the light of his vision of Yahweh,<sup>168</sup> and with this, the poem comes to an end.

The epilogue,<sup>169</sup> in prose, describes how Yahweh severely condemned the friends for the words they had spoken, commended

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167. Job 38, 39; 40:2, 8-14.

168. Ibid., 40:3-5, 42:2-6.

169. Ibid., 42: 7-17.



His servant, Job, for speaking rightly of Him, and restored him to double his former prosperity.

As to the question, what function does suffering fulfill in the life of the righteous, there are two positive answers given in the book of Job. The first one is to be found in the prologue. Here we are told that the afflictions of Job were a test of his righteousness. They were an attempt to determine whether his loyalty to Yahweh was sincere or whether it was based on self-interest. Job's conduct proved that he was quite willing to serve God for nought.

Another function performed by suffering is that of discipline and refining the life of the righteous. Eliphaz expressed this idea when he said:

Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth; Therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty: For he maketh sore, and bindeth up; He woundeth, and his hands make whole.<sup>170</sup>

These considerations, however, do not solve the problem of suffering. The book of Job ends without giving us a definite solution. There are several further suggestions given to us in the book that ought not to be overlooked. One is that suffering has a purpose in human life whether we are able to discern it or not.<sup>171</sup> This is implied in the prologue

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<sup>170</sup>. Job 5:17-18.

<sup>171</sup>. Knudson, Religious Teachings of the Old Testament, p. 287.





and also in the speeches of the Almighty. We have no way of knowing what takes place in the heavenly council, but that the suffering of the righteous does have a place in the divine plan, that it does have a meaning, is guaranteed by the very character of God himself. "Wisdom and love manifest in nature as a whole assures us that our afflictions are not purposeless. What their purpose is we may not understand, but where we cannot understand we can always trust."<sup>172</sup>

The book of Job also points us to immortality. In one supreme moment, Job rose to the assurance that the justice denied him here will be granted him in the world beyond.<sup>173</sup> "This assurance did not apparently remain with him, but the door of hope thus opened was one through which many a suffering heart was destined to walk in the ages to come."<sup>174</sup>

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172. Knudson, Religious Teachings of the Old Testament, p. 287.

173. Job 19:25ff.

174. Knudson, The Religious Teachings of the Old Testament, p. 287.





## CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY

Our earliest sources pertaining to this period may be grouped under three classifications: literary, inscriptions and monuments, and Biblical. From these sources, which we wish were more numerous, we have to reconstruct the history and religion of the period.

From Cyrus to Alexander the Great, 538-333, the Jewish community was for two centuries, a Persian province. The date of Cyrus's conquest of Babylon, 538, marks the beginning of the reawakening of the Jewish community in Palestine. His successor, Cambyses (529-522), is chiefly notable for his conquest of Egypt. After a period of great disorder (522-518), Darius I established himself. He is remembered for his masterly organization of the empire into twenty satrapies, Syria and Palestine being included in that of Arabia. During his long reign (522-485) the Jews were treated with much favor, leading to the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem, due largely to the efforts of the two prophets Haggai and Zechariah in arousing a new religious enthusiasm. His successor, Xerxes (485-465), is the Ahasuerus of the ~~quinta~~

#### CHAPTER IV

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unhistorical romance known as the Book of Esther. Artaxerxes I (456-424) was the patron of Nehemiah. The reign of Darius II (424-405) had very little direct bearing upon the history of the Jewish people except for what was taking place in the Jewish colony in Elephantine. Artaxerxes II (404-359) was a mild ruler under whom Persia declined. It was in his reign that Ezra came on his important mission to Jerusalem. During the reign of the energetic but cruel and murderous Artaxerxes III (359-336), Persia revived again. The last of the Persian kings was Darius III (336-331). He was called to an impossible task, that of facing the might of Alexander the Great. The Persian Empire came to an end with the battles of River Granicus (334), the pass of Issus (333), and Gaugamela (331).

In 538, a decree permitting the return of the exiles was issued by Cyrus. As to how many returned at this time under the leadership of Sheshbazzar, we are not certain. By the year 520, sixteen years had elapsed since the return from Babylon and the Temple had not as yet been rebuilt. In the second year of Darius (520), the prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, came to Jerusalem, reproached the people for their neglect, and urged them to rebuild the Temple. As a result, Zerubbabel and Joshua, the secular and religious leaders, turned the people to the task; the Temple was completed in 516.





We are now in a period of the decline of prophecy. There is a marked contrast between the eighth-century prophets, Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah, on the one hand; and Haggai, Zechariah, Trito-Isaiah and Malachi on the other. Though there are great passages in the prophecies of these men, expressing permanent truth in memorable form, we cannot but feel that post-exilic prophecy moves from the very beginning on a lower level than that of its predecessors. These later prophets are themselves nearer to the level of those they address, and often seem rather to express the thoughts of the people themselves. The power passed from the prophet to the priest, even though priests were rebuked by some of these prophets.

With the coming of Nehemiah to Jerusalem as governor in 444 the wall of the city was rebuilt. In 432 he returned to the court of Artaxerxes. It was on his second visit that he appeared as a religious reformer. His second administration of office was marked by a practical enforcement of the principles of the exclusive Babylonian party.

Ezra came to Jerusalem in 397. He came as a religious reformer. His work had as its primary object the establishment of the Law as formulated by priestly schools among the Babylonian Jews. The Law book from which Ezra read in 397 was quite likely the Priestly Code, in so far as it has been developed in Babylon. The solemn covenant into which the





community entered to be strictly governed by the Priestly Law was the more formal beginning of legalism. From then on Judah was ruled by priests according to written law; and its life and aspirations became predominantly religious and ritualistic. As time went on P was joined with JED in one composite work known as the Pentateuch.

One of the immediate effects of the exclusivism resulting in the adoption of the Priestly Law was the organization of the Samaritans into an independent religious community, which ultimately built its own temple on Mount Gerizim. While the general outcome is clear, the intermediate steps leading to it are not altogether certain.

But while legalism was the dominant characteristic of Old Testament religion after the time of Ezra, the literature that has come down to us from this period makes it evident that there were also other significant forces at work among the people. In the fight against mixed marriages, Nehemiah and Ezra won out. But there were also men of broader sympathies. In such books as Ruth and Jonah, we find direct reaction against the narrowness and exclusiveness of the legalistic program.

In Joel, we get an interesting glimpse of the development of religion and social life in the later Persian period, of which we know so little from outside sources. The Book of Joel marks the transition from prophecy to apocalypse. It



helped to keep alive the earlier prophetic hopes of the speedy coming of the kingdom of God.

In the Psalter, representing as it does nearly a thousand years of Israel's history, we meet the religion of Israel at its greatest depth and its most passionate intensity.

There is a speculative reaction, in the book of Job, concerning the orthodox explanation of the problem "Why do the righteous suffer?" Opinions differ as to whether the book of Job solves the problem of suffering, but that it contributes largely to its solution cannot be questioned.

The two centuries of Persian rule were of the greatest importance in the history of Judaism. The question as to how far Judaism was influenced by the culture and religion of Persia is still largely a matter of debate. The important thing to note is, that under Persian rule the Jewish religious passion, nurtured through the exile, was able to find an effective outlet in the re-establishment of the Temple and its cult. Around this center, it was possible for Judaism to develop with very little political interference. It was the opportunity for development and consolidation provided by the Persian peace, which prepared the Jews for the battle which was to face them in the Greek period.

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